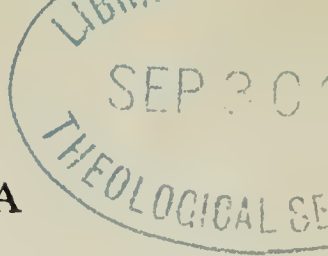




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THE SYNTAX OF THE DE CIVITATE DEI OF ST. AUGUSTINE

A Dissertation

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PREFACE.

The purpose of this dissertation is to present a complete survey of the syntactical phenomena occurring in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* which stamp it as a product of ecclesiastical Latin. Accordingly, note will be taken not only of clearly defined divergencies from classical Latin, but also of such constructions as actually appear even in the Golden Age but which are used to a greater extent or with a slightly different connotation. We are well aware of that philological truth, that the language of one period is in itself no better than the language of another; that the changes which occur in the syntax of any language are largely a matter of psychology, due in the main to the new surroundings in which a writer is living and to the new ideas which he finds himself called upon to express. Accordingly we have no such aim as to show the poor or the good qualities of the syntax of the *De Civitate Dei*. We are merely taking account of certain characteristics appearing in it, with a view to contributing something to a much larger work on the Latinity of St. Augustine's writings as a whole.

In order to avoid all inexact and unbalanced impressions, statistics will be given wherever possible showing the exact extent of any peculiarity. Comparisons will also be made, according as available information permits, to the syntactical usage of other representative authors of ecclesiastical Latin.

The general order of treatment is that followed by the *Lateinische Grammatik* of Stolz-Schmalz. The text of the *De Civitate Dei* which has been used is that of B. Dombart in the Teubner series.

To Dr. Roy Joseph Deferrari, Head of the Departments of Greek and Latin at the Catholic University of America, at whose suggestion the study was undertaken and under whose direction this monograph has been written, the author wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness and to express her grateful appreciation of the assistance and encouragement given throughout the work. Acknowledgment is also made to Dr. Romanus Butin, S. M., and Rev. J. P. Christopher, both of the Catholic University of America, for having read the manuscript and having offered many valuable suggestions.

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INTRODUCTION.

ECCLESIASTICAL LATIN.

To arrive at a satisfactory understanding of ecclesiastical Latin we must consider its source in the original language of Latium known as the *prisca Latinitas*. From this was derived the *sermo plebeius*, which is neither the parent nor descendent of classic Latin but one of two concurrent streams which originated from the pristine language of the Romans.

With the earliest development of a national literature a differentiation began between the cultured and the popular speech. In the third century B. C., Ennius with other writers, and later the members of the literary aristocracy of the Scipionic circle, undertook to enrich the language with Greek embellishments. The attempt was encouraged by the literary coteries of Rome, and, under the combined influence of the political and intellectual aristocracy, classical Latin which reached its zenith in Cicero was developed. At the same time, along divergent lines grew the other branch of the Latin language, the *sermo plebeius*, developing according to the natural laws of a living language. In as far as the classical Latin was more and more highly and artificially developed, in so far did the chasm between the two grow greater. Nevertheless, the exigencies of daily life brought the political and literary elements of Roman life into constant and continual touch with the uneducated masses, and from the reciprocal influence resulted a third idiom, a medley of the two, viz., the *sermo urbanus*, which became in the time of Cicero synonymous with the highest type of excellence in Latin speech. After classical Latin had reached its culmination and had come to an early end, the *sermo urbanus* found its way into literature, where blended with the provincialisms from Spain, Gaul and Africa, it produced nothing worthy of the name of classic after the writings of Seneca.

It was the *sermo plebeius* which was carried into the conquered provinces chiefly by the conquering soldiers as well as by others attracted to the colonies for one reason or another. Through the non-military element, this *sermo plebeius* received a classic or archaic touch, but it retained within itself the germ of life, changing constantly and developing without restraint. Thus in this

process of development we see in the *sermo plebeius* two opposing features, a conservatism for the old and a receptivity for the new. These are of primary importance in accounting for the growth of the local variations in provincial Latin.

With the spread of Christianity, Christian writers, of whom many were trained in the rhetorical schools flourishing in the provinces, had acquired a knowledge of the spoken language; and thus the basis of their writings was the *sermo plebeius* which had been carried by the Romans into all the conquered provinces.

At first sight it may seem strange that Christian writing did not begin at Rome. This may be accounted for from the fact that Christianity was strongly persecuted in the capital. Furthermore the Christian community at Rome was Greek-speaking. After the civil wars, when the old Roman families died out, Greek had become the language of the educated classes, and the most famous Latin writers of this age are to be found not in Italy but in Spain and Africa. By this time Latin had ceased to be national. It had become the language of the Empire. St. Paul wrote to the Roman church in Greek; St. Clement, when addressing the Corinthians, wrote in Greek; and we find Greek in the earliest inscriptions of the Catacombs. Not until the end of the second century was Latin used in the Roman church.

About this time ecclesiastical Latin came into existence. Its precise date is a matter of conjecture. Some maintain that Tertullian is the father of ecclesiastical Latin, but it is an accepted fact that the first Christian writing in Latin is a translation of the Bible which existed before the time of Tertullian. When, where and by whom this translation was made are questions which the writers of the period itself were unable to determine. Augustine himself admits the uncertainty of the translators and the times, “Qui scripturas ex Hebraea lingua in Graecam verterunt numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Graecus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari” (De Doctrina Christiana II, 11).

The following were the influencing factors in the formation and development of ecclesiastical Latin.

I. *The colloquial language.* Colloquial Latin had for its basic content the *sermo plebeius*, which is not a resultant of classic Latin, but a descendent of the *prisca Latinitas*, a fact which accounts for the archaisms so prevalent in ecclesiastical Latin. The

degree of archaism present in the idioms of the separate Roman provinces can almost determine their date of conquest.

II. *The Scriptures.* In the refutations of their opponents, the Latin Fathers sought arguments from that fundamental document, the Bible. Their intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures is clearly evident in their writings. Thus the Hebrew and Greek idioms in which the Latin Scriptures abound must have, in spite of conscious efforts in opposition, influenced their thought and writing.

III. *Classical Latin.* The influence of classical Latin as taught in the schools of rhetoric which the Fathers attended, almost unconsciously adorns their style.

To these influences we may add that of Tertullian, an original writer with an independent type of genius.

In general there abounds in ecclesiastical Latin a simplicity of style, an absence of artificiality, a naïvety of structure, a carelessness of grammatical rules, but a positive effort toward directness and ready intelligibility. Augustine expressly says, “*Saepe enim et verba non Latina dico, ut vos intellegatis; melius est reprehendant nos grammatici quam non intellegant populi*” (Ps. CXXXVIII, 20).

The essential differences between the syntax of ecclesiastical and classical Latin as thus far determined by the research in the Latinity of the period are the following: a more frequent use of abstract terms; case usage applied with less precision; adjectives lavishly used instead of substantives; a confusion in the use of pronouns; change of meaning in adverbs; the neglect of classical precision in tense; the subjunctive used for the indicative and vice versa; the substitution of *quia*, *quod* and *quoniam* with a finite mood for the accusative and infinitive in indirect statements; the extension of the *quod* construction to clauses where an *ut* substantive clause would be used in classical Latin; the infinitive to express purpose; a more extensive use of the participle; the use of a periphrasis especially with forms of *esse* and *habere*, equivalent to a periphrastic conjugation; prepositions with nouns used instead of simple cases; changes in meaning and an extension in the use of prepositions; and changes in meaning and an extension in the use of conjunctions.

The differences are by no means slight. In fact a thorough appreciation of the same is of fundamental importance for an

accurate understanding of the great literary legacy of the Fathers. Much has already been done in the study of ecclesiastical Latin, but much more remains to be completed before anything like a comprehensive grammar of ecclesiastical Latin can be written. It is hoped that the present study of the syntax of the greatest masterpiece of ecclesiastical Latin, the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine, will contribute something towards this end.

CHAPTER I—SUBSTANTIVES.

Various modifications of substantives, including the frequent use of certain rare classical forms, occur in ecclesiastical Latin. In the D.C.D. of Augustine we find the following modifications:

I. SUBSTANTIVES USED ADJECTIVELY.

Substantives denoting agency in *tor* and *sor* with the feminine endings in *trix* and *strix* are used with the function of adjectives by the writers of the Classical period. The authors of the Empire extended this usage and in their works we find such expressions as, *sed advenas Italiae cultores*, Livy, XXI, 30, 8; *advenas reges*, IV, 3, 13; *exercitum alienigenam*, XXVIII, 42, 10; *hostis alienigena*, XIX, 10, 5; *indigenae Fauni*, Verg. Aen. VIII, 314; *pueri servi*, Val. Max. VIII, 1, 12; *puerum histrionem*, I, 1, 16.

Some have even used substantives for neuter adjectives. The following instances may be cited: *indigena vino*, Pl, n. h. XIV, 6, 8, 72, *minium*, *adulterum*, 33, 7, 37.

This usage, viz. substantives used adjectively, occurs with much freedom in the writers¹ of the Christian period, but only to a limited extent in Augustine. In the D.C.D. the following passages occur, thus: *Et haec non ab alienigenis hostibus*, I, 5. . . . *nisi raptae illae laceratis crinibus emicarent . . . non armis victricibus*, *sed supplici pietate sedarent*, III, 13.

Ita Roma extitit victrix ea clade etiam in certamine extremo, III, 14.

unde rixa numinum et Venus victrix, et rapta Helena et Troia deleta, III, 25.

in illius autem incarnatione natura humana erat, sed iusta, non peccatrix erat, X, 24.

quae sapientia perpetrari vetat, ac per hoc opus habere moderatrice mente atque ratione, XIV, 19.

quoniam rex Aegyptius Ptolomaeus eos ad hoc opus asciverat, ipsam veritatem gentibus alienigenis invidisse, XV, 13.

¹ Bayard, 271; Goelzer (1), 379; Goelzer (2), 644; Regnier, 89; Gabarrou, 145.

Neque enim sibi ipsi sunt veritas, sed *creatricis* participes Veritatis ad illam moventur, XVI, 6.

Sive ergo per iuvenecam significata sit plebs posita sub iugo legis, per capram eadem plebs *peccatrix* futura, XVI, 24.

et multis cladibus afflicta est ab *alienigenis* regibus ipsisque Romanis, XVIII, 45.

ex *homine* virgine, XVIII, 46.

Verum tamen pertinebat ad *consultores* deos vitae bonae praecepta non occultare populis cultoribus suis, II, 4.

intuentes alternante conspectu hinc meretriciam pompam, illinc *virginem* deam, II, 26.

At illae sine duce *homine* atque rectore ad Hebraeos viam pertinaciter gradientes, . . . X, 17.

II. GENDER.

Augustine adheres strictly to the careful distinction observed by classical writers in the use of gender, and herein he differs greatly from Gregory² and Jerome.³ He is careful even to observe the shades of meaning expressed by the different genders of *locus* recognized in classical times. In classical Latin *locus* is used in the masculine when referring to a particular place, but when a series of connected places is in question the neuter is used. Instances of this fine distinction occur in the D. C. D. thus:

Electus est videlicet *locus* tantae deae sacratus, I, 4.

Cf. also VIII, 23; IV, 29; IX, 12, 13, 17; XI, 28; XIV, 2; passim.

Locus is used to designate a series of connected places in the following:

qui contra omnem consuetudinem gestorum ante bellorum ad *loca* sancta confugientes Christianae religionis, . . . V, 23.

Cf. also I, 1, 2; II, 6; XV, 9; XVIII, 3, 20, 21; XX, 15, 22.

III. NUMBER.

The writers of the Classical period vary in the use of the singular and plural of certain collective, abstract and concrete nouns. For example, in classical Latin *sordes* regularly appears in the plural, *capillus* and *crinis* are used as collective nouns in the singular.

² Bonnet, 503.

³ Goelzer (1), 293.

We find *sordes* used in the singular by Cicero,⁴ Plautus⁵ and Horace.⁶ *Capillus* appears once in the plural in Cicero.⁷ The writers of the Empire used *capillus* frequently in the plural. In Vergil we read, Sanguine turpantem comptos de morte *capillos*, Aen. X, 832; in Horace, Hunc et incomtis Curium *capillis*, Carm. I, 12, 41. We also find *crinis* in the plural in Vergil, thus:

Crinibus Iliades possis peplumque ferebant, Aen. I, 480; as well as in Cicero⁸ and Catullus.⁹

The following irregularities, rare in classical Latin, occur in the D. C. D.

1. Concrete terms.

(a) Singular for plural.

In the classical and pre-classical periods *altare* is used only in the plural. Augustine uses *altare* ten times in the singular, thus:

Sed cur et Fides dea credita est et accepit etiam ipsa templum et *altare*? IV, 20.

Quod etiam sacramento *altaris* fidelibus noto frequentat ecclesia, X, 6.

Deinde aedificato ibi *altari* et invocato Deo, . . . XVI, 19.
ut serviret *altari*, XVII, 5.

veniebant homines ad templum vel *altare* Dei, XVII, 6.

A quibus tantum prima coepta fundamina et *altare* constructum est, XVIII, 26.

Alioquin nec ad *altare* Dei fieret, . . . XX, 9.

cuius corporis sacramentum fideles communicantes de *altari* sumere consuerunt, XXI, 25.

deinde abscondens aliquid de *altari* florum, XXII, 8.

eius est *altare* cor nostrum, X, 3.

It occurs eight times in the plural, thus:

ab Urbis *altaribus* tam multos ac minutos deos tamquam muscas abegerunt, II, 22.

verum etiam inter ipsa deorum *altaria* fundebatur, III, 31.

⁴ P. Plane. 3, 7; ad. Att. 1, 16, 11.

⁵ Poen. 1, 2, 102.

⁶ Ep. I, 2, 53.

⁷ Pis. 15.

⁸ Verr. 2, 3, 33.

⁹ 64, 391.

quae tamen extra in aedibus propriis *altaria*, meruerunt, IV, 20.
si forte aliorum aedibus vel *altaribus* iam fuisset locus occupatus,
IV, 23.

verum etiam sacra, sacerdotia, tabernaculum sive templum, *altaria*,
sacrificia, VII, 32.

quibus templa *altaria*, sacrificia sacerdotes instituendo atque prae-
bendo summum verum Deum . . . offenderet, III, 12.

templis *altaribus*, sacrificiis sacerdotibus . . . inserviant, XVIII,
18.

nec ibi erigimus *altaria*, XXII, 10.

In classical Latin *sordes* is used only in the plural. In the
D. C. D. Augustine uses it once in the singular and three times
in the plural, thus:

Tunc enim puri atque integri ab omni *sorde* ac labe peccati . . .
offerebant, XX, 26.

cuius amor purgat a *sordibus* avaritiae, hoc est ab amore pecuniae!
VII, 12.

et mundanis *sordibus* expiatus mundus perveniat ad Deum, VII,
26.

Nisi forte sic eos dicendum est emundari a *sordibus* et eliquari
quodam modo, XX, 25.

In the Latin historians,¹⁰ the singular is used to designate any
particular collective idea such as people, army etc., as the *Populus*
Romanus of Caesar and Livy. This usage is very frequent in
Christian writers. Numerous examples occur in the D. C. D.

Cf. *Multitudo*, I, 15; XII, 28; XVI, 4, etc.

Hostis, III, 19; XVII, 13; I, 10, etc.

Populus Hebraeus, V, 21; VII, 32.

Turba, III, 17; IV, 11; VI, 9, etc.

Vulgus, I, 22; IV, 9; XIV, 2, etc.

Augustine himself indirectly lays down the rule illustrating the
use of a singular term for a plural. Nam nimia disponebatur
altitudo, quae dicta est usque in caelum, sive unius turris eius,
quam praecipuam moliebantur inter alias, sive omnium turrium,
quae per numerum singularem ita significatae sunt, ut dicitur
miles et intelleguntur milia militum, XVI, 4.

¹⁰ Schmalz, 606 (e).

(β) Plural for singular.

Contrary to classical usage, the writers of the Empire used *capillus* and *crinis* in the plural, and these words are so used also in the Christian period.¹¹ In the D. C. D. *capillus* occurs seven times in the singular, always under Biblical influence, thus:

quorum *capillus* capitis non peribit, I, 12.

quantum *capilli* occupant, XIV, 24.

capillus capitis non peribit, XXII, 12.

qui dixit nec *capillum* capitis esse periturum, XXII, 14.

cum ipse nec *capillum* periturum esse promiserit, XXII, 15.

cum *capillus* hominis perire non possit, XXII, 20.

sed *capillus* in eo capitis non peribit, XXII, 21.

It occurs in the plural six times, thus:

hanc vim in nostro corpore permanare dicit in ossa, ungues,
capillos, VII, 23.

qui usque in hesternum diem madidis *capillis* facie dealbata, VII,
26.

Sunt quae Iunoni ac Minervae *capillos* disponant, . . . VI, 10.

qui eis etiam de *capillorum* suorum integritate securitatem dedit,
XIII, 20.

Quid iam respondeam de *capillis* atque unguibus? XXII, 19.

Quamvis et de ipsis *capillis* possit inquiri, XXII, 12.

Crinis occurs in the plural once in the D. C. D. thus:

nisi raptae illae laceratis *crinibus* emicarent, . . . III, 13.

(γ) Agreement of a single verb with several subjects.

The following are representative examples of a series of subjects as used with a single verb in the D. C. D., none of which are contrary to classical Latinity.

sicuti sunt fornicationes, inmunditiae, luxuria, ebrietates, comi-
sationes, XIV, 2.

At vero gens illa, ille populus, illa civitas, illa res publica, illi
Israelitae, quibus credita sunt eloquia Dei . . . confuderunt,
XVIII, 41.

2. Abstract terms.

A marked preference for concrete expressions is characteristic of classical Latin. A gradually increasing use of abstract terms, how-

¹¹ Goelzer (2), 261.

ever, is seen in the development of the language until in the writings of the Christian authors we at once realize that one of the chief characteristics of that period is a fearless usage of abstract expressions. We note the following in the D. C. D.

(a) Verbal nouns in *tus* and *sus*.

The plural of verbal nouns in *tus* and *sus*¹² appears in the nominative and accusative cases in classical Latin and seldom occurs in other cases. Augustine, like the writers¹³ of the Christian period, introduced the plural in all cases, thus: *affectus* IX, 4; *effectum* V, 2; *nisibus* XXII, 13; *affectos* XII, 6; *passibus* XVIII, 18; *lapsibus* XII, 14; *accessibus* IV, 4; *anfractibus* XII, 14; *decessibus* V, 6; *conceptibus* XII, 24; *eiulatibus* XXII, 8.

Cf. also II, 26; IV, 8; IX, 1; X, 14; XI, 7; XII, 6, 14, 24, 26; XIII, 10; XIV, 9, 12, 24; XV, 3; XVI, 29; XVIII, 54, 18; XXI, 6; XXII, 13, *passim*.

(β) Abstract nouns used for participles.¹⁴

et tanta hinc et inde cognati cruoris effusione vicisse Roma gaudebat, III, 14.

Sarra quippe sterilis erat et desperatione prolis, . . . XV, 3.

Quod ergo in confessione ac professione tenet omnis ecclesia, . . . XX, 1.

Cf. also II, 14; X, 7; XVII, 7; XVIII, 32; XX, 5; XXI, 25; XXII, 30, *passim*.

(γ) Abstract nouns used for adverbs.¹⁵

de dono Dei cum tremore exultasse, I, 28.

Quaeso ab humano impetremus affectu, ut femina sponsum suum a fratre suo peremptum sine crimine fleverit, si viri hostes a se victos etiam cum laude fleverunt, III, 14.

ubi et monstrosos partus cum horrore et inrisione commemorant, XXII, 12.

ut mentem legentis exerceant, et pauca in eo sunt, ex quorum manifestatione indagentur cetera cum labore, XX, 17.

Cf. also VIII, 23; XI, 31; XII, 9; XX, 9, 19; XXII, 8, 11, 12, *passim*.

IV. CASES.

Elsewhere we have treated in detail the various influences which tended to bring about the change evident in the Latin language

¹² Schmalz, 603.

¹³ Bayard, 206.

¹⁴ Regnier, 91.

¹⁵ Schmalz, 603.

from the Classical to the Christian periods. In no phase of this development does the change appear so strikingly as in the substantive, and especially in its modifications of case usage.

In the D. C. D. the nominative and the vocative present no irregularity.

1. *Accusative.*

(a) With verbs.

Through the accusative case, the case of the direct object, the substantive is brought into a certain relationship with the verb, which relation is determined by the character of the verb and the dependent substantive. In classical Latin this relation was restricted within narrow limits; and as time went on, intransitive verbs tended more and more to become transitive. In the Silver Age and Ecclesiastical period we have such verbs taking the accusative as *cavere*, *consulere*, *includere*, *interdicere*, *latere*, *persuadere*, *supplicare*, *mendicare*, *ridere*, *indulgere*. These verbs were likewise used transitively in the pre-classical period.¹⁶ In the D. C. D. we find the following:

Oblivisci which takes the genitive of the person in classical Latin occurs here with the accusative of the person, thus:

quia non eos *obliviscente*, sed potius miserante Domino et ipsi post hoc opprobrium credituri sunt, XVII, 12.

Credere takes the dative with persons in classical Latin. It occurs with *in* and the accusative¹⁷ in the D. C. D.

Fungi takes the ablative in classical Latin. It occurs with the accusative in the D. C. D., thus:

Samuel simul *officium functus* sacerdotis et iudicis, XVII, 4.

Benedicere takes the dative in classical Latin in the sense of *to praise*. Four instances occur in the D. C. D. where *benedicere*, meaning *to bless*, takes the accusative. This is the common ecclesiastical usage.

Ac per hoc cum in Aegypto moriturus Israel *suos filios benediceret*, XVI, 41.

Quos cum *benediceret* Iacob, XVI, 42.

¹⁶ Goelzer (2), 59.

¹⁷ For *credere* with the accusative and the preposition *in*, cf. Chapter VIII on Prepositions.

quod protulit Melchisedich, quando *benedixit* Abraham, XVII, 17. cum moriturus filios suos et nepotes ex Ioseph *benedixisset* Christumque apertissime prophetasset, XVIII, 6.

(β) Appositional accusative.

Augustine uses an appositional accusative with the preposition *in*. The construction seems to be akin to the accusative with the preposition *in* or *ad* with verbs of motion, thus:

Cum autem Deus iubet seque iubere sine ullis ambagibus intimat, quis *oboedientiam in crimen* vocet? I, 26.

2. Genitive.

As the accusative case is closely connected with the verb in most of its relations, so in a similar manner is the genitive connected with the substantive. In the D. C. D. a greater number of irregularities center around the genitive than around any of the other oblique cases. These irregularities are:

(α) Genitive of quality.

The substantive¹⁸ on which the genitive depends is sometimes omitted by Christian writers.¹⁹ Bayard calls this the elliptical genitive. Schmalz classifies it under the genitive of quality.

Four passages with *huius modi* occur in the D. C. D. in which this omission appears, thus:

si haec atque huius modi, quae habet historia, IV, 2.

haec ergo atque huius modi nequaquam illis, X, 16.

Haec atque huius modi Deo parva sunt, X, 18.

Haec atque huius modi mihi cogitanti non videtur, XVIII, 52.

A considerable amount of freedom is permitted even in classical Latin when there is a question of the genitive or ablative of quality. The genitive is usually used when the idea of quality is embodied in number, measure, time, space or class. Strictly speaking the ablative is used when treating of form and appearance, of characteristics of dress or person. In ecclesiastical Latin, however, the genitive tends to supplant the ablative in this construction, as may be seen from the following examples:

Egregius Romani nominis Marcus Marcellus, I, 6.

¹⁸ Schmalz, 363.

¹⁹ Bayard, 210; Gabarrou, 100.

Nam vir clarissimus Flaccianus . . . homo facillimae facundiae multaeque doctrinae, XVIII, 23.

(β) Partitive Genitive.

The partitive genitive is employed four times depending on *medius* used substantively, where in classical Latin *medius* as an adjective would agree with the noun. This, however, is clearly due to the influence of neighboring quotations from Scripture.

de *medio ecclesiae*, . . . XX, 19.

de *medio Babylonis* . . . XVIII, 18.

aut in *medio duarum latronum*, aut in *medio Moysi et Heliae* . . . XVIII, 32.

in *medio inimicorum suorum* . . . XVII, 17.

The partitive genitive instead of *e* or *ex* and the ablative is used with numerals in the following examples:

unus illorum septem, VIII, 2.

itemque *alter filiorum* Sem genuit . . . XVI, 3.

Cf. also XVI, 41; XVIII, 9, 42; passim.

(γ) Objective and Subjective Genitive.

In classical Latin the genitive of the personal pronoun (not the possessive) is used regularly as the objective genitive. To denote possession, however, the possessive pronoun and not the possessive genitive of a pronoun is almost universal until after Tacitus.²⁰

For the regular objective genitive, cf. I, 10; X, 16; XIV, 13, 28; XV, 17; XVI, 29.

A single example occurs of this irregular use of possessive genitive of the pronoun.

quam totam implet praesentia *sui*, I, 12.

(δ) Genitive with nouns in *tor*.

On almost every page of the D. C. D. we meet with verbal nouns in *tor* used with the genitive. This construction was already in use in the pre-classical period. In the Golden Age, we still find it used among the representative authors of that period, although there is a marked preference among them for a relative clause.²¹ Thus Cicero, instead of saying *fabricator*, prefers to say *pictores*

²⁰ Lane 1234, 1262; Goelzer (2), 95; Bayard, 209.

²¹ Schmalz, 607.

et ii, qui signa fabricantur. In the D. C. D. we find the following:

vera autem iustitia non est nisi in ea re publica, cuius conditor rectorque Christus est, II, 21.

profecto eo modo, quo sunt peccatores, etiam praevaricatores legis illius, XVI, 27.

non arbitremur habere animam Deum, cum sit conditor animae, XVII, 5.

Cf. also II, 18; IV, 33; V, 26; VI, 4; VIII, 23; X, 23, 28; XI, 25; XII, 27; XIII, 14; XV, 9; XVI, 43; XVII, 5; XVIII, 36; XIX, 13; XX, 28; XXI, 14; XXII, 24; *passim*.

(ε) Hebrew Genitive.

Among the many forces functioning indirectly at this period, and eventually affecting the constructions of the language, the translation of the Bible from the Hebrew through Greek into Latin exerted no small influence. The Hebrew Genitive, so called by Bayard,²² is composed of the genitive of a substantive (usually feminine) depending on another substantive²³ as *terra sanctitatis*. It passed into ecclesiastical Latin and appears abundantly in the works of the period.²⁴ The following are from the D. C. D.:

qui Christianis feminis in captivitate compressis alieni ab omni cogitatione sanctitatis insultant, I, 19.

studemus accendere sive ad virginalem integritatem sive ad continentiam vidualem sive ad ipsam tori conjugalis fidem, I, 27.

quae fictio non mentientis, nisi profundum mysterium veritatis? XVI, 37.

Cf. also I, 9, 12, 21, 25, 27; II, 18, 29; III, 28; IV, 5; V, 6, 12; VIII, 10; X, 8, 19; XIV, 17; XVI, 37; XVII, 4, 5; XVIII, 18, 53; XX, 3, 6, 19; XXI, 18, 24; *passim*.

(ζ) Genitive with adjectives.

Felix occurs with the genitive for the first time in the poets of the Imperial Epoch.²⁵ Through the influence of the syntax of the poets it appears in the prose writers of the period. One instance occurs of *felix* and the genitive in the D. C. D. thus:

²² Bayard, 210.

²³ Schmalz, 362, An. 2.

²⁴ Goelzer (1), 323; Goelzer (2), 100; Regnier, 41.

²⁵ Riemann and Goelzer, 167.

Metellus enim Romanorum laudatissimus, qui habuit quinque filios consulares, etiam *rerum temporalium felix* fuit, II, 23.

3. Dative.

The function of the dative case in classical Latin is to indicate that to or for which anything is done. In later periods, its use was extended, especially with verbs to indicate many other kinds of relationship. In this respect the D. C. D. of Augustine, unlike the works of other Christian writers, does not differ in a very marked degree from classical Latinity. The irregularities found in the D. C. D. are the following:

(α) Dative after verbs.

Without doubt it is by analogy with verbs like *redire*²⁶ etc. that other verbs such as *reddere*, *restituere* etc. take the dative, not of the person, but of the state to which a person or thing returns.

Reddere with the dative of *the state to which* occurs in the three following passages from the D. C. D.:

et suae *potestati reddi* potuerunt, X, 26.

Redditi sunt animo eius, XXII, 8.

quam ferebat, super eam proiecisset, *reddita est vitae*, XXII, 8.

(β) Dative with adjectives.

In Plautus and Terence *similis* takes the genitive; but in general from Ennius on the dative as well as the genitive is used. In classical Latin *similis* is said to take the genitive for a general or comprehensive likeness and the dative for a conditional or partial likeness.²⁷

Augustine uses the dative with *similis* about five times as often as the genitive, and in these examples it is usually difficult to discover any real distinction of meaning.

ne fiant *similes earum muliercularum*, quas commemorat apostolus,
. . . II, 1.

non sane iusti, sed *daemonum similes*, ea, quae vana esse noverant,
IV, 32.

qui etiam ludis talibus delectentur, *simile* sit furoris, VI, 9.

qui est in corpore humano, *simillimus* est immortalis *animi*, VII, 5.

²⁶ Bonnet, 539; Gabarrou, 104.

²⁷ Riemann and Goelzer, 161; Kühner, 448h, 449, A. S.

Hi et ceteri *similes eorum* id solum cogitare potuerunt, VIII, 5.
 ut ponerent in Deo spem suam, *similes illius*, . . . XV, 23.
 ut novissima Antichristi persecutio *similis* videatur *undecimae
 plagae*, XVIII, 52.
 quod eis etsi non certum, tamen *veri simile* videbatur, XIX, 1.
 vel etiam pervicacia *simillima insaniae* id, XX, 1.

Similis with the dative.

ei similis de qua scriptum est, II, 5.

ut *similiores eis* sunt, V, 1.

ut mimicae *scurritati* videatur esse *simillimum*, VI, 1.

Cf. also II, 1; III, 19; V, 62; VI, 1, 8, 9, 10; VII, 5, 7, 23;
 VIII, 5, 17; IX, 17, 20; X, 8, 11; XI, 26; XII, 26; XIV, 2,
 3, 4, 20, 22, 24; XV, 7, 10, 23; XVI, 8; XVII, 9; XVIII,
 17, 52; XX, 3, 23; XXI, 5, 10; XXII, 8, 23, 28, 29.

4. Ablative.

The ablative case is used especially with verbs and their participles, or with adjectives. It may be described as an adverbial case, because a noun in the ablative generally qualifies a verb, adjective or adverb in the same way as an adverb does.

Among the many uses of the ablative in the D. C. D., irregularities occur which are only slightly known in classical Latin as compared with their frequent occurrence in ecclesiastical Latin.

(a) Ablative with adjectives.

Plenus with the genitive is the regular rule in Cicero and Caesar.²⁸ *Plenus* was used in classical Latin with the ablative, and appears frequently in the writers of the Empire and thence on through the Christian period. With no apparent preference, Augustine in the D. C. D. uses *plenus* with the genitive and the ablative at will. Twenty-one passages with *plenus* and the ablative occur, thus:

ut ipsum perferat mundum per omnes horas *temptationibus
 plenum*, I, 27.

Civitas regis magni, *gratio plena*, XVII, 4.

Nempe una est terra, quam *plenam* quidem videmus *animalibus
 suis*, VII, 23.

²⁸ Schmalz, 383.

quanto minus credendum est illis litteris, quas *plenas fabulosis* velut antiquitatibus . . . XII, 11.

si omnia quattuor elementa *suis animalibus plena* sunt, VIII, 17.
Cf. also XI, 10; XV, 16; XVII, 4, 8; XIX, 5, 8, 20; XX, 1, 2;
XXI, 7, 14; XXII, 1, 4, 8, 22, 30.

Thirteen passages occur with *plenus* and the genitive, thus:

sollicitudinis autem *plena* sunt coepta, VII, 7.

quae falsissima est et *plenissima erroris*, IX, 18.

indignitatis et *turpitudinis plena*, VI, 7.

Neque enim in hoc tam praeclaro opere et *tantae plenissimo dignitatis* audent . . . IV, 8.

quas omnes partes quattuor *animarum esse plenas*, VII, 6.

Cf. also VIII, 26; X, 11, 22; XI, 23; XII, 21; XVI, 31; XIX, 8, 23.

Reus is used in pre-classical writers with the genitive. Later on, *reus* like *plenus*, appears with the ablative. Classical writers, however, prefer the genitive.²⁹

In the D. C. D. Augustine uses *reus* seven times. In five passages it is construed with the genitive and in two with the ablative, thus:

(α) With the genitive.

verum etiam *suae mortis reus* finivit hanc vitam, I, 17.

Porro si falsi testimonii non minus *reus*, est qui de se ipso falsum fatetur, I, 20.

nulla civitatis *suae lege reus* est *homicidii*, immo, nisi fecerit, *reus* est *imperii deserti* atque contempti, I, 26.

Ne itaque *reus* esset *tanti sacramenti* in Saule violati, XVII, 6.

(β) With the ablative.³⁰

ut *capitali crimine reus* fieret, si quis eam fuisse hominem diceret, XVIII, 3. (Non-classical.)

cum *homicidii crimine* *reus* fieret, XVIII, 10. (Classical.)

(γ) Ablative of time.

Duration of time and extent of space are usually expressed in classical Latin with the accusative case.

²⁹ Riemann and Goelzer, 166.

³⁰ For the genitive of the charge may be substituted in classical Latin *nomine* or *crimine* with the genitive or with the ablative and *de*.

Four passages embodying the idea of duration of time occur in the D. C. D., where Augustine uses the ablative for the accusative, thus:

qui per ipsum . . . *paucis diebus* vitae suae cursim raptimque transierunt, IV, 5.

Quantum enim pertinet ad hanc vitam mortalium, quae *paucis diebus* ducitur et finitur, V, 17.

Utrum autem etiam *illis ultimis tribus annis et mensibus sex*, XX, 8.

Haec persecutio novissima, . . . *tribus annis et sex mensibus* erit, XX, 13.

CHAPTER II—ADJECTIVES.

The twofold process according to Schmalz,¹ of making nouns out of adjectives is; first, by unconsciously investing an adjective with the idea of a substantive which is not expressed, (this idea may be that of a person or thing or some other idea less general); second, through the conscious ellipsis of a substantive of a more limited meaning. In the first case the idea of the substantive is vague and the thought is embodied in the quality, usually a calling, profession and the like, expressed by the adjective, as *consularis*, *amicus*, *bonus*; while in the second, owing to the structure of the phrase and the restricted idea of the substantive which is generally of a concrete nature, ellipsis is consciously admitted and the adjective functions as a noun, as *fera* where *bestia* could be easily understood.

The use of adjectives as substantives in the Classical period was in general restricted. Writers confined themselves to the following usages:

For persons:

The singular of an adjective as *iustus*, *fidelis*, is seldom met with. The use in the plural as *docti*, *sapientes*, is frequent, especially in the nominative. The other cases were rarely allowed to assume a substantival character.

For things:

In the nominative and accusative cases, the neuter singular of the second declension tends to express an idea rather in the abstract, as *honestum*, *verum*; while the plural in the same cases lends itself to a more concrete expression, as *honesti*, *vera*.

Prepositional phrases:

Prepositions in combination with the accusative and ablative singular of neuter adjectives of the second and third declensions occur, as *ad extremum*, *de cetero*, *in proclivi*.

In Sallust there is a marked tendency toward the use of adjectives as substantives. The writers of the Empire and of the Chris-

¹ Schmalz, 608.

tian period waive aside all limitations, and treat adjectives as substantives without restriction of any kind.

Among the Christian writers Cyprian,² Arnobius,³ Jerome⁴ and Avitus⁵ as well as Augustine manifest an absolute freedom in this usage. The following examples are from the D. C. D.:

1. For persons in the singular and plural, nominative and accusative cases.

Sic evaserunt *multi*, qui nunc Christianis temporibus detrahunt et mala, I, 1.

Nam *bonus* temporalibus nec bonis extollitur nec malis frangitur; *malus* autem ideo huiusce modi infelicitate punitur, I, 8.

nam hoc quoque in libris suis habent eorum *docti* atque *sapientes*, IV, 10.

Quo modo ergo bona est, quae sine ullo iudicio venit et ad *bonos* et ad *malos*? IV, 18.

scaenicus autem ludendo potius delectaret, VI, 11.

constat inter *historicos* graves, XVIII, 8.

Ecce hic dixit *fideles* suos in iudicium non venire, XX, 5.

Sed quod dixi scriptum a Varrone, licet eorum sit *historicus* idemque doctissimus, XXI, 8.

Ac per hoc haeretici et *schismatici* ab huius unitate corporis separate possunt idem percipere sacramentum, XXI, 25.

Cf. also I, 1; II, 2, 25; III, 6, 7; IV, 2, 11; V, 12, 26; VI, 1; VIII, 26; IX, 8; X, 10; XV, 1, 23; XVIII, 51; XX, 19, passim.

2. For things in the singular and plural nominative and accusative cases.

quia et ipsi vidimus *talìa* ac talibus numinibus exhiberi, IV, 1.

Sed si virtus non nisi ad *ingeniosum* posset venire, IV, 21.

Verum tamen qui omnia *mala* animae ex corpore putant accidisse, XIV, 3.

Voluntas quippe, inquiunt, appetit *bonum*, . . . cautio devitat *malum*, XIV, 8.

alternaverunt *prospera* et *adversa* bellorum, XVI, 43.

quae ille *plura* commemoravit et *brevia*, XVIII, 23.

ubi erit Deus *omnia* in omnibus, XIX, 20.

² Bayard, 271.

³ Gabarrou, 147.

⁴ Goelzer (1), 108.

⁵ Goelzer (2), 646.

3. In other cases.

isto compendio possent in illo uno *omnibus* supplicare . . . IV, 11.

Jovem igitur de *omnibus* rogarent, IV, 17.

De *supervacuis* non magna causa, IV, 27.

Sed non te audiunt, daemones sunt, prava docent, *turpibus* gaudent, IV, 27.

ab auribus *omnium* repellendi sunt, V, 1.

non deberent inspectis *natalium* constellationibus de valetudine aliquid dicere, V, 5.

De *talibus* enim, qui propter hoc boni aliquid facere videntur, V, 15.

sed eam potius quantum valuit ab *haereticorum* perniciosissima pravitate defendit, V, 18.

et quod minus ferre *bonorum* possit aspectus, V, 20.

sed ipsi soli et lunae aut cuicumque *caelestium* homo vitio cuilibet obnoxius minas eosque territat falso, X, 11.

sed ipsis *caelestibus* et siderea luce fulgentibus, X, 11.

atque in *infidelibus* claudus, XVI, 39.

unus e septem *sapientibus*, XVIII, 14.

quae nunc in sanctis *fidelibus* est diffusa per terras, XX, 21.

Deus erit omnia in *omnibus*! XXII, 29.

Cf. also I, 16; III, 12, 18, 26, 30; IV, 11, 17; V, 26; VIII, 2, 10; IX, 4, 11; XV, 1, 23; XVII, 23; XXI, 5, 6, 25; passim.

4. Prepositional phrases.

susurrans *in occulto* verba institiae ad decipiendos etiam paucos bonos, II, 26.

quae suos agros non haberet, *de publico* viveret, V, 17.

Non opus est multa percurrere, cum res *in aperto* sit, VII, 1.

quam creavit *ex nihilo*, XIV, 11.

quid est nisi aut *in medio* duorum testamentorum, aut *in medio* duorum latronum, aut *in medio* Moysi et Heliae cum illo in monte sermocinantium? XVIII, 32.

Cf. also VII, 1; IX, 13; XI, 4; XII, 5, 16; XIV, 11, 13; XVII, 4; XVIII, 52; XX, 19; passim.

Augustine, conforming to a usage not uncommon in his time, but seldom found in classical Latin⁶ uses the comparative and

⁶ Schmalz, 609; Goelzer (2), 649.

superlative of adjectives in both numbers and all cases as substantives. From the D. C. D. are the following:

quae praetermissi essent, multo *numerosioribus* praeberetur, IV, 11.

Sed quia peius esset, ut iniuriosi *iustioribus* dominarentur, IV, 15.

Si enim a *maioribus* illi sunt appellat superstitiosi, IV, 30.

Multo sunt autem *tolerabiliores*, qui vel siderea fata constituunt,
V, 9.

in forma Dei supra angelos mansit; idem in *inferioribus* via vitae,
qui in *superioribus* vita, IX, 15.

Quaerit enim cur tamquam *melioribus* invocatis quasi *peioribus*
imperetur, X, 11.

quod septuaginta interpretes in *plurimis*, XV, 14.

Sed ad *manifestiora* veniamus . . . XIX, 23.

Non itaque pergo per *plurima*, XXI, 5.

eorumque paucos discipulos suos faciunt *plurimorumque* doctores,
XXI, 6.

Cf. also II, 26; III, 12; IV, 5, 8, 11, 26, 24; VI, 10; X, 23; XII,
22; XIV, 8; XVIII, 8, 33, 37; passim.

II. ADJECTIVES FOR GENITIVES OF POSSESSION.

Instances occur in classical Latin, even in Cicero, of adjectives taking the place of genitives either when they express the subject of the action in the noun on which they depend as Cic. ad Att. 6, 17, *erratum fabrile*; or as the equivalent of the genitive of possession, as Ter. Andr. 602, *erilem filium*. In the D. C. D. as in all ecclesiastical Latin such adjectives appear with far greater frequency, thus:

quibus baptizatos adloquendo studemus accendere sivi ad *virginalem* integritatem sive ad continentiam *vidualem* . . .
I, 27.

si earum quoque aliquas *barbarica* libido compressit, I, 28.

Sciebatur *virginali* numini quid placeret, II, 26.

in utero *virginali* domum sibi aedificasse corpus humanum et huic,
XVII, 20.

in novis evangelium et *apostolicae* litterae, XX, 4.

Currus vero eius . . . *angelica* ministeria non inconvenienter accipimus, XX, 21.

Cf. also I, 25; II, 13; III, 30; V, 6, 11, 18; VII, 26; X, 3, 16;
XIV, 3, 11; XV, 26; XVII, 18, 20; passim.

III. DEGREES OF COMPARISON.

The value of the suffixes is not fully appreciated in the Christian period. This is due no doubt to the irregularities prevalent in the popular language of the day and unconsciously taken over into the writings of the period. However, Augustine, unlike many Christian writers,⁷ has shown a marked care in his use of the suffixes forming the degrees of comparison. Very few irregularities appear in the D. C. D.

In one passage *magis* is used with a positive for a comparative, thus:

Quis adversus eos contentiosior, animosior, et *magis aemulus* atque *invidus* invenitur? XIV, 3.

In another place the comparative is used for either a positive or superlative, thus:

cum patre suo qui translatus fuerat aliquantum fuisse atque ibi, donec diluvium praeteriret, vixisse arbitrantur, nolentes derogare fidem codicibus, quos in auctoritatem *celebriorem* suscepit ecclesia, XV, 11.

In thirteen passages Augustine joins a positive and superlative, and in one, a positive and comparative, an irregularity which according to Schmalz⁸ appears only in late Latin.

ut videlicet poeta *magnus* omniumque *praeclarissimus* atque *optimus* teneris ebibitus animis non facile oblivione possit aboleri, I, 3.

qui nostro Deo conditori *sanctae* et *gloriossissimae* civitates deos suos praeferunt, X, 18.

quod *perversissimae* atque *impiae* vanitatis est, XI, 34.

Cf. also XII, 27; XIV, 13; XV, 1, 10; XVII, 3; XVIII, 24; XIX, 23; XX, 5, 9; XXII, 14.

Octava generatio habet quidem nonnullam diversitatem, sed *minorem* ac *dissimilem* ceteris, XV, 10.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS EXCEPTIONAL USES OF ADJECTIVES.

With the exception of a few stereotyped expressions such as *plurimam salutem*, *ad multam noctem*, *plurima exercitatio*, etc.

⁷ Goelzer (1), 399; Goelzer (2), 657; Gabarrou, 150.

⁸ Schmalz, 616.

found in classical Latin, the singular of the adjectives *multus*, *paucus*, *plurimus*, *omnis*, *singulus*, is not used with substantives in a plural sense. Schmalz⁹ cites Tertullian and Orosius as exponents of the use of this syntactical phenomenon.

In the D. C. D. the following occur which are classical:

Iste ergo *multus error* et incredulitas non animadvertentium ad cultum religionemque divinam invenit artem, VIII, 24.

et tamen si causas artis huius nos diceremus *multum errorem* hominum, VIII, 24.

Qui cum ei *protectionem mercedemque* promitteret valde *multam*, XVI, 23.

Ita perficit Christus *multam multitudinem* dulcedinis suae sperantibus in eum, XXI, 24.

Numerals.

Classical Latin requires, in the case of compound numbers from twenty-one to ninety-seven inclusive, that the smaller number with *et* precede the larger, or that the larger number precede the smaller without *et*, as *unus et viginte* or *viginti unus*.

With the exception of a few cases where there is a violation of the rule given above, Augustine in the D. C. D. is quite regular in his use of numerals. The following are the variations which occur:

triginti et novem anni in tam longa pace transacti sunt regnante Numa, III, 9.

Bellum Punicum primum per *viginti et tres* annos peractum est, V, 22.

Quadraginta et unum libros scripsit antiquitatum, VI, 3.

qui cum *octoginta et unum* vixisset, VIII, 11.

Menses quippe illi triduani *viginti et septem* dies habere non poterant, XV, 14.

Augustine makes frequent use of the correlatives *unus—alter* for *alter—alter* to denote either division of a group. This irregularity occurs in about fifty-five passages in the D. C. D., thus:

An Veneres duae sunt, *una* virgo, *altera* mulier? IV, 10.

a quibus solos duos deos coli, *unum* bonum, *alterum* malum, V, 21.

⁹ Schmalz, 612.

ubi dederunt Marte et Orco, *uni* effectori mortium *alteri* receptori,
VII, 3.

duo philosophorum genera traduntur: *unum* Italicum ex ea parte
Italiae . . . *alterum* Ionicum in eis terris, VIII, 2.

Cf. also I, 19, 24; IV, 3, 10; V, 4; VI, 3, 7, 9; VII, 3, 7, 11;
VIII, 2, 3, 4; IX, 13; X, 5, 32; XI, 33; XII, 1, 6, 13; XIII,
21; XIV, 1, 4, 13, 28; XV, 1, 2, 8, 15, 20, 21, 26; XVI, 1,
17, 25, 40; XVII, 2, 3, 4, 20; XVIII, 1, 28, 44; XIX, 3;
XXI, 1, 4, 26; XXII, 5, 8, 24, 30.

CHAPTER III—PRONOUNS.

Among the characteristics which differentiate ecclesiastical from classical Latin, the peculiarities pertaining to the use of the pronouns are perhaps the most pronounced. In some cases the writers of the Christian epoch, more especially those of Africa, have disregarded in part not only the fine shades of meaning always observed by classical writers, but at times have even confused the fundamental meaning of one pronoun with that of another. Thus the reflexive pronouns are now used interchangeably with demonstratives, now with intensives, as in Arnobius: *qui* (Christus) *iustissimis viris . . . ac diligentibus sese (= ipsum) . . . apparet*. I, 46, and in Cyprian: *Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio (consensu) cum nemo ante se (= eum) factus esset*, 629, 21.

It is not chiefly among the reflexives, however, as in the examples above that the striking irregularities occur in the D.C.D. of Augustine. While some such appear, the variations from classical norms abound more in the demonstratives. Augustine seems to use the demonstratives, especially those of the first, second and third persons promiscuously. In making contrasts between two persons or things, one may find the classical usage *hic . . . ille*, but much more frequently *hic . . . iste*, or *ille . . . ille* or *ille . . . iste*.

These irregularities are due no doubt to the inevitable change which took place in the language when influenced by the Greek and Semitic languages, directly or indirectly, through the translations of the Bible.

I. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

Like all Latin writers, Augustine uses the personal pronouns only where it is necessary to emphasize the idea of the person. In speaking of himself he uses the first person plural; as . . . *de qua loqui instituimus*, I, 1 etc., a usage employed by writers of all periods of the language. It is scarcely possible, owing to the distinct and precise meaning assigned to each, that a confusion should arise in the use of the personal pronouns.

II. RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

The relative pronouns like the personal offer little difficulty. Goelzer¹ when treating of the syntax of the pronouns in Avitus, classifies the indefinites with the pure relatives. As our classification conforms to that of Schmalz, we shall retain the treatment of the indefinites for a special section (v) of this chapter.

III. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

The idea of reciprocity in classical Latin is expressed by the reflexive phrases *inter nos*, *inter vos*, *inter se*. Later on, however, in the Augustan age we find Livy joining the adverb *invicem* to *inter se*; thus: *Invicem inter se gratantes*, 9, 43, 17. Soon the reflexive phrase was omitted and the reciprocal relation was expressed by *invicem*; as *Ut invicem ardentius diligamus*, Plin. ep. 7, 20, 7. Schmalz² says that *inter se* was not lost to the language, but was used by the authors who followed classical traditions. Augustine uses both forms in the D. C. D.

Inter se occurs in ninety-four passages in the D. C. D., thus:

Etiam ipse de particulis *inter se* similibus, VIII, 2.

nos ergo has duas societates angelicas *inter se* dispares atque contrarias, XI, 33.

Pugnant ergo *inter se* mali et mali, XV, 5.

Cf. also II, 25; III, 14; IV, 7, 27; V, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; VI, 5, 6; VII, 4, 11; VIII, 2, 3, 14; IX, 1, 2, 7, 9, 14, 23; XI, 34; XII, 9, 14, 17, 19, 22, 23; XIII, 16; XIV, 4, 10, 12, 18, 26; XV, 13, 15, 16; XVI, 8, 20, 24, 36; XVII, 7, 11, 21, 23; XVIII, 1, 2, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 51; XIX, 3, 7, 14, 23, 28; XX, 5, 29; XXI, 6, 8; XXII, 24, 27, 28; passim.

Invicem occurs in twenty passages, thus:

Perplexae quippe sunt istae duae civitates in hoc saeculo *invicemque* permixtae, I, 35.

quas in hoc saeculo perplexas diximus *invicemque* permixtas, X, 32.

Nam si duo sibimet *invicem* fiant obviam neque praeterire, XIX, 7.

Cf. also IV, 2; XI, 1; XII, 21; XIV, 8, 22, 28; XV, 4, 6; XVI, 6; XVIII, 7, 13, 17; XIX, 13, 17; XXII, 24, 27, 29.

Alterutrum expressing reciprocal relations is used for the first³

¹ Goelzer (2), 667.

² Schmalz, 620.

³ Schmalz, 620.

time in Lucius Annaeus Florus, 183, 19 R, *manu alter utrum tenentes*. Among the writers of the Christian period we find it in Jerome,⁴ Avitus.⁵ In the D. C. D., *alterutrum* occurs as a reciprocal pronoun in the two following passages:

Iam vero Punicis bellis, cum inter utrumque imperium victoria diu anceps atque incerta penderet populiue duo praevalidi impetus in *alterutrum* fortissimos et opulentissimos agerent, III, 18.

ubi partium studia non contionum dissensionibus variisque vocibus in *alterutrum*, III, 23.

IV. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

Classical Latinity defines precisely the use of *is*, *hic*, *iste* and *ille*. *Hic*⁶ and *is* are distinguished one from the other in that *hic* always signifies an object present. It is the demonstrative of the first person. *Is* represents an object already mentioned or about to be mentioned. *Iste* is the pronoun of the second person. It points out something near, belonging or imputed to the person addressed. It is used in addressing opponents, and is thus frequent in contemptuous expressions. *Ille* points out what is more or less remote in place, time or thought. It is the demonstrative of the third person. These distinctions carefully observed by classical writers were uniformly disregarded by Christian writers.

Irregularities in the syntax of the demonstrative pronouns found in the D. C. D. are as follows:

In expressions of contrast *iste—ille*, *ille—ille* and *ille—iste* are used for *hic—ille* and *ille—hic* in the three following passages:

Quis ergo est locus bonorum daemonum, qui supra homines, infra deos *istis* praebeant adiutorium, *illis* ministerium? IX, 13.

et sceleratarum concatenatione causarum a bello Mariano atque Sullano ad bella Sertorii et Catilinae (quorum a Sulla fuerat *ille* proscriptus, *ille* nutritus), III, 30.

Pax cum bello de crudelitate certavit et vicit. *Illud* enim prostravit armatos, *ista* nudatos, III, 28.

The following passages are worthy of note, where Augustine in referring three times to two of the gods by means of the demon-

⁴ Goelzer (1), 412.

⁵ Goelzer (2), 663.

⁶ Schmalz, 621.

stratives, uses the combinations *ille . . . ista*, *ille . . . haec* and then the non-classical usage *ille . . . ista* again.

Huic monstro nec Iani monstrositas comparatur. *Ille* in simulacris habebat solam deformitatem, *ista* in sacris deformem crudelitatem; *ille* membra in lapidibus addita, *haec* in hominibus perdita. *Hoc* dedecus tot Iovis ipsius et tanta stupra non vincunt. *Ille* inter femineas corruptelas uno Ganymede coelum infamavit; *ista* tot mollibus professis et publicis et inquinavit terram et caelo fecit iniuriam, VII, 26.

In discussing *theologia mythica*, Augustine uses *illa . . . haec* six consecutive times and completes the enumeration with *illa . . . ista*, thus:

Nec fabulosa igitur nec civili theologia sempiternam quisquam adipiscitur vitam. *Illa* enim de diis turpia fingendo seminat, *haec* favendo metit; *illa* mendacia spargit, *haec* colligit; *illa* res divinas falsis criminibus insectatur, *haec* eorum criminum ludos in divinis rebus amplectitur; *illa* de diis nefanda figmenta hominum carminibus personat, *haec* ea deorum ipsorum festivitatem consecrat; facinora et flagitia numinum *illa* cantat, *haec* amat; *illa* prodit aut fingit, *haec* autem aut adtestatur veris aut oblectatur et falsis. Ambae turpes ambaeque damnabiles; sed *illa*, quae theatra est, publicam turpitudinem profitetur; *ista*, quae urbana est, illius turpitudine ornatur, VI, 6.

In the following passage the reverse takes place. Referring to two societies of angels Augustine uses *illam . . . istam* four consecutive times and concludes the series with a passage which contains a double use of the principle according to classical Latin:

nos tamen has duas angelicas societates, . . . *illam* in caelis caelorum habitantem, *istam* deiectam in hoc infimo aereo caelo tumultuantem; *illam* luminosa pietate tranquillam, *istam* tenebrosis cupiditatibus turbulentam; *illam* Dei nutu clementer subvenientem, iuste ulcipientem, *istam* suo fastu subdendi et nocendi libidine exaestuantem; *illam*, ut quantum vult consulat, Dei bonitati ministram, *istam*, ne quantum vult noceat, Dei potestate frenatam; *illam* huic inluentem, ut nolens prosit persecutionibus suis, *hanc* illi invidentem, cum peregrinos colligit suos, XI, 33.

Cf. also I, 28; II, 11, 14; VI, 1, 2; VII, 4; VIII, 1, 2, 13, 21, 26; IX, 2, 4, 15, 22; X, 15; XII, 1; XIII, 4, 8; XIV, 8, 13; XV, 2; XVIII, 28, 41, 43; XIX, 28; XX, 1; XXI, 11; XXII, 4, 6, 11, 24.

In the following passage *hic*, *is* and *iste* are used with scarcely any difference in meaning:

Hi motus, *hi* affectus de amore boni et de sancta caritate venientes si vitia vocanda sunt, sinamus, ut *ea*, quae vere vitia sunt, virtutes vocentur. Sed cum rectam rationem sequantur *istae* affectiones, quando ubi oportet adhibentur, XIV, 9.

Ille is used for *is* in the two following passages:

et ideo potest a litteratis eius defensoribus dici non esse apud inferos inter *illos*, I, 19.

qui nec fuerunt umquam nec futuri sunt desertores, inter quos et *illos*, qui aeternam lucem deserentes tenebrae facti sunt, XI, 28.

Iste, as has been said above, was used to refer to the second person. Hence it should be confined to cases of address, especially in colloquial expressions. Cicero always uses *iste* with this force. It is found only once in Caesar⁷ and then in the passage of an oration embodied in his narrative.

The earliest evidence of a weakening of this force appears in Apuleius.⁸ In the Christian writers we find it equivalent almost to a definite article. Cf. Min. Felix, 18, 11, *iste* sermo; Cyprian, De Hab. Virg. 15p, *isto* in loco; Commodian, 1, 25, 19, *isto* libello; Ambrose, 1, 8, 32F, nobis excursus *iste* processit; Sulpicius Severus, Chron. 1, 2, 1, voluminis *istius*; Tertullian, De Idol, 19p, in *isto* capitulo. Similar meanings of *iste* occur in about thirty-two passages of the D. C. D., thus:

Quapropter in decem *istis* libris, etsi minus quam nonnullorum de nobis expectabat intentio, X, 32.

primumque dicam, quem ad modum exordia duarum *istarum* civitatum in angelorum diversitate praecesserint, XI, 1.

Nam ubi tenebrae inculpabiles sunt, inter quas et lucem *istam* his oculis conspicuam luminaria caeli dividunt, XI, 20.

⁷ B. G. 7, 77.

⁸ Koziol, 78.

Cf. also I, 8, 13; VI, 15; XI, 1, 33; XV, 1, 27; XVI, 4, 15, 21, 24, 26, 28, 35, 36, 38; XVII, 1, 4, 5, 7, 16; XVIII, 28; XIX, 5, 26; XX, 15.

V. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

1. *quisquam*, *aliquis*, *ullus*.

Quisquam meaning a "single one," "any one at all," and *ullus* meaning "any" are used chiefly in negative sentences in classical Latin. In ecclesiastical Latin *quisquam* occurs frequently in affirmative sentences. It also appears with *si*, *nisi*, *ne* and *num* instead of *quis*. These forms appear very frequently in Avitus⁹ and likewise in Augustine. In the D. C. D. *quisquam* occurs fifty-eight times in negatives and forty-five in affirmative sentences.

(a) *si* with *quisquam* instead of *quis*.

Si duas quisquam nutrices adhiberet infanti, VI, 9.

Quod si quisquam dicit, non ex omnium sed ex malorum daemonum numero esse, XI, 7.

ac si quisquam velit videre tenebras vel audire silentium, XII, 7.

Cf. also XI, 5; XII, 7, 16; XIV, 3; XVI, 27; XIX, 12; XXI, 5, 10; XXII, 20.

The five following passages, two containing *non quisquam* for *nemo*; one, *non quicquam* for *nihil*; and two, *non ullus* for *nullus* occur in the D. C. D.

Non tamen quisquam putare debet aut frustra haec esse conscripta, XV, 27.

Non enim Domino quisquam quicquam rectum voveret, XVII, 4.
non quo quicquam bonis quandoque morituris tale genus mortis faciat aliquid, XV, 24.

non gustus faucium, non ullus corporeus tactus accedit, XI, 27.

Cur enim esset ulla poena in quibus non essent ulla punienda? XIII, 3.

(β) *Si* with *aliquis* instead of *quis*.

Aliquis, the indefinite pronoun of an affirmative proposition, occurs in about four hundred and seventy passages in the D. C. D., fifty-one of which are used in negative sentences.

⁹ Goelzer (2), 668.

Verum *si aliquis* audeat, vincit nempe istos, XXI, 17.

In classical Latin *aliquis* for *ullus* is not ordinarily used with the preposition *sine*. Eight instances of this irregularity appear in the D. C. D., thus:

quod fieri fortasse *sine carnis aliqua* voluptate non potuit, I, 16.
 velut ipsius Romae filiam, sed *sine aliquo* daemonum templo simulacroque concessit, V, 25.
 quod tempus *sine aliqua* mobili mutabilitate non est, XI, 6.
 Cf. also XII, 21, 22; XVI, 2; XIX, 13; XXII, 24.

Two passages containing *aliquis* . . . *aliquis* for *alius* . . . *alius* occur, thus:

Huc accedebat, quod, ut sunt alterna bellorum, *aliquae* parentum ferro amiserunt viros, *aliquae* utrorumque ferro et parentes et viros, III, 13.
 quod *aliqui* alienant a Dei voluntate, *aliqui* ex illa etiam hoc pendere confirmant, V, 1.

2. *Quispiam*.

*Quispiam*¹⁰ in pre-classical Latin differed very little from *aliquis* but it was more extensively used. Cicero does not use it as frequently in negative sentences as *quisquam*. It is seldom used in the Imperial epoch. Sidonius Apollinaris, a contemporary of Augustine revived its use. It occurs in seven passages in the D. C. D., in three of which it replaces *quis*, thus:

(a) *nisi* or *si* with *quispiam* for *quis*.

Nisi forte *quispiam* sic defendat istos deos, III, 15.
 nisi forte *quispiam* ex ipsa numerositate annorum nobis ingerat quaestionem, XV, 9.
 Exempli gratia, velut si *quispiam*, quod hic scriptum est, XV, 26.

3. *Quicumque*.

Quicumque, at different periods in the development of the language, weakens as an indefinite relative pronoun, and assumes a very strong adjectival force. Schmalz¹¹ cites Cicero as using it rarely.

¹⁰ Schmalz, 625.

¹¹ Schmalz, 627.

Forty-four out of one hundred and four passages in which it is used in the D. C. D. have the adjectival use thus:

quaecumque tales viri in suis litteris multorum deorum ludibria posuerunt, IV, 31.

et *quaecumque* turpia geruntur in theatri, VIII, 5.

quibus potius sit credendum, respondeant Platonici, respondeant *quicumque* philosophi, X, 16.

Cf. also IV, 23; X, 3; XVI, 8; XXI, 26; XXII, 8; passim.

4. *Quisquis* and *quisque*.

Quisquis, with the very general meaning "whoever," has no limitations in classical Latin; while *quisque* meaning "each," "each by himself," is applied to a group of more than two. *Quisque* is also used with pronouns (immediately following them), ordinals and *unus*. In the Ecclesiastical period *quisque* and *quisquis* are often used synonymously. The following examples are especially to be noted:

(α) *Quisque* for *quisquam*.

Transeuntium quippe intentio ipsa mutatur de vetere ad novum, ut iam non *quisque* intendat accipere carnalem, sed spiritalem felicitatem, XVII, 7.

post aliquot dies quod audierunt mente retineant et vix *quisque* reperiatur illorum, XXII, 8.

(β) *Si quisque* for *si quis*.

An vero tam insulsa perversitas cor evertit et a consideratione veritatis avertit, ut, si se *quisque* interimere debet, I, 27.

5. *Uterque*.

In the Classical period *uterque* meaning "each" is used of two individuals and its plural *utrique* for two sets or parties. Augustine adheres strictly to this distinction.

Cf. I, 8, 28; II, 11, 14; III, 13, 14; VI, 6; IX, 4, 13; XII, 1; XIV, 26; XV, 10, 13; XVII, 4, 44; XVIII, 43; XIX, 4, 17.

Classical usage¹² does not allow the combination *uterque uterque*. The joining of *alius alium*, *alter alteri*, and *uter utri* in the combination of double questions is regular as: *Ut diiudicari posset*,

¹² Schmalz, 627.

uter utri anteferendus videretur, Caes. B. G. 5, 44, 14. No doubt the doubling process of these pronouns was extended to *uterque*. One passage with this irregularity occurs in the D. C. D., thus:

An *uterque utrumque* implet, IV, 10.

VI. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

1. *Tantus, quantus, tot, quot*.

The meanings of the pronominal adjectives *tot*, "so many," *quot*, "how many," *tantus*, "so great" and *quantus*, "how great" were strictly followed by the writers of the Classical period. As early as Propertius,¹³ however, a variation in the meaning of the pronominal adjectives appears, and we see the plural of *quantus* being used for *quot*.

Down through the Empire and in the Ecclesiastical period, the change in meaning was gradually extended, and we find Augustine, in his Sermons, Letters and D. C. D. frequently using *tam magnus* for *tantus*, *quam multi* for *quot* and *tam multus* for *tot*, thus:

(a) *Tam magnus* for *tantus*.

Merito certe laudant virtutem *tam magna* infelicitate maiorem, I, 15.

quo Roma *tam magna* facta est, IV, 9.

et ex illorum numero erat, cuius *tam magnam* divinamque sententiam . . . X, 25.

quod a nullo coepit . . . sed *tam magna* spatia, quanta illa summa comprehendit annorum, XII, 13.

Cf. also IV, 13, 15; X, 21; XII, 21; XIII, 17; XV, 14; XVI, 18; XVII, 13, 18; XIX, 7, 23; XX, 28, 30; XXII, 6, 7, 12, 24, 25; passim.

(β) *Quam multi* for *quot*.

Vides quanta hinc dici et *quam multa* possent, III, 13.

illa itidem ingens pestilentia, quamdiu saeviit, *quam multos* peremit! III, 17.

quam multa ad hostem oppida defecerunt, *quam multa* capta et oppressa! III, 19.

Cf. also IV, 11; VI, 2; XIV, 15; XV, 27; XXII, 8, 11, 24; passim.

(γ) *Tam multi* for *tot*.

¹³ Schmalz, 629.

iam praesidibus atque tutoribus vix post *tam multos* annos ab Urbi condita . . . III, 9.

qui *tam multa* legit, ut aliquid ei scribere vacuisse miremur; *tam multa* scripsit, VI, 2.

Cf. also III, 12, 13, 15, 17, 29; IV, 13, 20, 25; V, 2, 6; VII, 35; X, 3, 8, 19, 32; XII, 21; XV, 5, 8, 12, 13, 14, 20, 27; XVII, 8, 13; XVIII, 13, 22; XIX, 1; XX, 2, 20, 24; XXI, 7, 12, 18; XXII, 3, 5, 7, 8, 12; passim.

Alter and *Alius*.

Alter is related to *alius* as the comparative is to the superlative. *Alter* meaning "the other" or "one of two" and *alius* meaning "other" or "another," where more than two are thought of, are both used as substantives and adjectives in classical Latin. The writers of the Classical period except in a few instances in Caesar¹⁴ and Cicero¹⁵ were very careful to keep the meaning of these two words sharply defined. In colloquial Latin, however, a confusion arose. *Alius* is used for *alter* and *alter* for *alius*. This usage extended to the literature, and we find it frequently in Augustine and in other ecclesiastical writers.¹⁶

The following are from the D. C. D.:

(a) *Alius* for *alter*.

Numquid hoc dicitur, quia uno ambulante *alius* sedebat, et *alio* dormiente *alius* vigilabat, et *alio* loquente tacebat *alius*, V, 4. At enim *alius* est ille, *alius* iste, quamvis eodem nomine nuncupentur, VIII, 26.

ex eis duo filii Abrahae, unus de ancilla, *alius* de libera, XIII, 21. Cf. also III, 14; IV, 3; XI, 33.

(β) *Alter* for *alius*.

sed quam quaeque pars habet vitam a ceteris separatim, si praeter *alteram* irasci *altera* potest, IV, 11.

cum omnes occupati sint officiis et operibus propriis, nec *alter* inruat in *alterius*? IV, 13.

quod tria genera theologiae dicit esse, id est rationes quae de diis explicatur, eorumque unum mythicon (appellari), *alterum* physicon, tertium civile? VI, 5.

Cf. also XV, 16; XVI, 3, 38; XVIII, 36; XIX, 2; XX, 5.

¹⁴ B. G. 1, 1, 1.

¹⁵ Brut. 325.

¹⁶ Schmalz, 629; Goelzer (1), 417; Goelzer (2), 673; Bonnet, 278.

CHAPTER IV—ADVERBS.

The fundamental function of the adverb is to modify verbs, adjectives and more rarely other adverbs.

In all the periods of the language this function is largely stationary. Slight variations from classical Latin which occur in the Christian period are: a more frequent and extended use of adverbs, and certain changes in their meaning. This was brought about by the greater need felt for expressing new shades of meaning.

Frequently *unde* is used for *igitur* as in Jerome, *unde* obsecro te ignoscas tarditate meae . . . Ep. 99, 2; *adhuc* for *etiam tum*, as in Arnobius, *adhuc* parvi nutricum sub alimonia constituti, VII, 42; *undique* for *apud omnes* as in Avitus, Satis *undique* constat vitali indicio praecedere saepe timorem, IV, 353; and so on. Augustine in the D.C.D. in common with other writers¹ of the period shows similar examples.

I. ADVERBS OF PLACE.

Frequently in ecclesiastical Latin *unde* is used with the value of *quo modo*. The point of view evidently changed from that of source to one of manner. In the following twenty passages Augustine uses *unde* for *quo modo*, thus:

Unde ergo stetit Minervae simulacrum? III, 8.

unde hoc accidere potuit, cum eorum conceptus diversum tempus habere non possit? V, 5.

Hoc autem malum esse *unde* demonstrant? XXII, 25.

unde dicebat, si non prophetabat, XVII, 4.

quod *unde* fieri potest . . . hoc est ipsam voluntatem malam? XII, 6.

Unde enim apud Vergilium pius Aeneas laudabiliter dolet hostem etiam sua peremptum manu? *Unde* Marcellus Syracusanam civitatem recolens eius paulo ante culmen et gloriam sub manus suas subito concidisse communem cogitans condicionem flendo miseratus est? III, 14.

Cf. also III, 2, 17; IV, 20; V, 5; XII, 6; XIV, 4, 8, 18; XIX, 5, 8; XXI, 3; XXII, 5, 8, 29.

¹ Goelzer (1), 424; Goelzer (2), 681; Gabarrou, 164; Bayard, 272.

Augustine, in his use of demonstrative adverbs, conforms to classical Latinity more frequently than when using the corresponding pronouns.² Instances of this regularity in the D. C. D. are to be found in I, 4, 28; II, 26; VII, 17 etc.

In the two following passages Augustine deviates from classical usage:

Illuc . . . spolia portabantur, . . . huc . . . reportatum est. *Ibi* (= illic) amissa, *hic* servata libertas; *ibi* (= illic) clausa, *hic* interdicta captivitas; *ibi* possidendi a dominantibus hostibus premebantur, huc liberandi a miserantibus ducebantur, I, 4.

Uterque quidem de semine Abrahæ; sed illum genuit demonstrans consuetudo naturam, illum vero dedit promissio significans gratiam; *ibi* (= illic) humanus usus ostenditur, *hic* divinum beneficium commendatur, XV, 2.

II. ADVERBS OF TIME.

In classical prose *adhuc* means "to this moment," "up to this time." In the poets and even in Cicero we meet *adhuc* with the value of *etiam tum*, thus: *Nemo adhuc docuerat*, Acad. 2, 2. Augustine uses *adhuc* in the sense of *etiam tum* in the following passages of the D. C. D.:

Haec Cicero fatebatur, longe quidem post mortem Africani, quem in suis libris fecit de re publica disputare, *adhuc* tamen ante adventum Christi, II, 21.

adhuc tamen ante adventum Christi, II, 21.

Adhuc autem meliorem partium civilium Sulla dux fuit, *adhuc* armis rem publicam recuperare moliebatur, III, 7.

Deinde in illo populo cum *adhuc* nemo regnaret, XVII, 4.

Cf. also IV, 23; VII, 23; IX, 5; XVII, 7, 8; XVIII, 3, 6, 7, 10, 15; XIX, 3, 4, 6, 13, 22; XX, 2, 29; XXI, 4, 13; XXII, 8, 27; passim.

III. ADVERBS OF MANNER.

Ceterum means "for the rest," "otherwise," in classical Latin. It took over the restrictive sense of "but" in the Imperial epoch. Augustine uses it in this sense in the D. C. D. in the twelve following passages:

² Cf. Chapter III on Pronouns.

ad vocem anseris cito redierunt, ut saltem Capitolinum collem, qui remanserat, tuerentur; *ceterum* ad alia defendenda serius sunt redire commoniti, III, 8.

Ceterum quis ferat dici atque contendere deos illos, VI, 1.

Ceterum absit a mente Christiana, I, 25.

Ceterum qui futuri sint pro meritis praemiorum etiam gradus honorem atque gloriarum, XXII, 30.

Ceterum eos, qui putant minaciter potius veraciter dictum, XXI, 24.

Cf. also II, 20; X, 11; XII, 4, 10; XX, 26.

Scilicet in classical Latin means "certainly," "naturally." Later on it was used with the meaning of *id est*, as in Jerome, hic locus in Genesi multo aliter invenitur, quod *scilicet* Abraham emerit . . . speluncam duplicem, Ep. 57, 10; and in Arnobius, medietas ergo quaedam et animarum anceps ambiguaque natura locum philosophiae peperit et causam cur appeteretur invenit, dum periculum *scilicet* ex malis iste formidat admissis, alter concipit spes bonas, II, 31.

In the D. C. D. Augustine uses *scilicet* to mean *id est* in the following passages.

unde intellegitur totam eius theologian, eam ipsam *scilicet* naturalem, cui plurimum tribuit, VII, 5.

quoniam acutissimi homines atque doctissimi, a quibus ista conscripta sunt, ambas improbandas intellegebant, et illam *scilicet* fabulosam et istam civilem, VI, 8.

Haec igitur duo incredibilia, resurrectionem *scilicet* nostri corporis in aeternum et rem tam incredibilem mundum esse crediturum, XXII, 5.

Abdias . . . omnium brevissimus prophetarum, adversus Idumaeam loquitur, gentem *scilicet* Esau, XVIII, 31.

Cf. also I, 27, 30; III, 28; V, 12; X, 6, 16; XI, 1, 29, 30; XIII, 10, 21; XIV, 20; XV, 17, 20, 22, 23; XVI, 32, 41; XVII, 7; XX, 6; passim.

IV. ADVERBS OF QUANTITY.

Magis in classical Latin means "more." It is the comparative of action or quality. In ecclesiastical Latin it is used to a great extent for *potius* which also means "more," and "rather" or "sooner." *Magis* attributes a higher degree to one of the objects compared, whereas *potius* actually prefers it.

In the D. C. D. Augustine uses *magis* for *potius* in the following passages :

Proinde ista omnia, (id est) curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exequiarum, *magis* sunt vivorum solacia quam subsidia mortuorum, I, 12.

Talis enim ab eis Lucretia *magis* credita est, quae se nullo adulterino potuerit maculare consensu, I, 19.

quamvis et ea ipsa plerique *magis* naturae corporalibus causis quam operibus divinae mentis adsignent, XII, 24.

Cf. also I, 22 ; II, 13, 20, 23, 25, 27 ; III, 15 ; V, 9 ; VII, 26 ; XIV, 7 ; XV, 27 ; XVII, 4 ; XX, 24 ; passim.

Valde in classical Latin means, “intensely,” “greatly,” “exceedingly.” Frequently in Christian Latin ³ it is used to intensify a comparative and often to accompany a superlative.

In two passages in the D. C. D. Augustine uses *valde* in an unusual sense. In the first, *valde* is used with a positive for a superlative; and in the second a superlative is intensified still more by means of *valde*, thus:

Qui cum ei protectionem mercedemque promitteret *valde* multam, XVI, 23.

Sunt enim inter se *valde* proximi patres et filii, XX, 29.

V. ADVERBS OF MODALITY.

1. *Interrogative Adverbs.*

In classical Latin the particles *ne* and *num* not *utrum* are used to introduce a single indirect question. A confusion arising between the particles used for alternative questions led to the use of *utrum* for *ne* or *num*. Thus in Jerome we read, in potestate nostra est, *utrum* velimus esse perfecte, Matth. III, 19, 21. In the D. C. D. we find the following passages containing single indirect questions introduced by *utrum* instead of *ne* or *num*:

Utrum autem boni Patris et boni Filii Spiritus sanctus, quia communis ambobus est, recte bonitas dici *possit* amborum, non *audeo* temerariam praecipitare sententiam, XI, 24.
quaero *utrum* in aliqua natura fuerit, XII, 6.

³Schmalz, 613.

satis diximus; de amore autem, quo amantur, *utrum* et ipse amor ametur, non dictum est, XI, 28.

cum quaeritur *utrum sit* nocens, XIX, 6.

Hoc quippe in saeculo isto prorsus latet, quia et qui videtur stare, *utrum sit* casurus, et qui videtur iacere, *utrum sit* surrecturus, incertum est, XX, 7.

Unde merito quaeritur, *utrum* recte fecerint Saguntini, XXII, 6. Cf. also I, 9, 21, 22, 26; III, 4, 12; IV, 3, 23; VI, 1, 2, 9; VII, 3, 5, 23; VIII, 3, 10, 11, 24; IX, 1, 4, 5, 7, 14; XII, 16, 21; XIII, 3, 16, 22, 23; XIV, 7, 8, 22; XV, 15, 16, 22, 23; XVI, 8; XVIII, 38, 43; XX, 8; XXI, 3; XXII, 2, 6, 8, 12, 24, 29; passim.

In alternative questions asking which of two things is true, *utrum . . an, ne . . . an*, or *an* is used in classical Latin. Instead of these combinations we find *utrum . . . aut*, and *utrum . . . vel* as follows in the D. C. D.:

Sed *utrum potuerit* Venus ex concubitu Anchisae Aenean parere *vel* Mars ex concubitu filiae Numitoris Romulum gignere, in medio relinquamus, III, 5.

Nec ad causam, quam nunc agimus, interest, *utrum* hoc fieri Romulus iusserit *aut* Romulus fecerit, III, 6.

The interrogative adverbs *cur* and *quare* are frequently replaced in ecclesiastical Latin by *ut quid*. Thus in Jerome we read, *Ut quid* mihi ieiunatis? Ep. 22, 37. The following is a total list of the passages from the D. C. D. containing *ut quid* for *cur* or *quare*:

vel eis quos diligunt prosunt, *ut quid* coluntur, *ut quid* tanto studio colendi requiruntur? II, 23.

Ut quid ergo constituit Romanis deos Ianum, Iovem, Martem, Picum, Faunum, Tiberinum, Herculem et si quos alios? *Ut quid* Titus Tatius addidit Saturnum, Opem, Solem, Lunam, Vulcanum, Lucem et quoscumque alias addidit, inter quos etiam deam Cluacinam, Felicitate neglecta? *Ut quid* Numa tot deos et tot deas sine ista? IV, 23.

Cf. also I, 18; IV, 18, 19; V, 18; VII, 22; XVIII, 30; XXII, 24.

2. Negative Adverbs.

(a) *ne* for *non*.

In classical Latin the negative particle with the hortatory and jussive subjunctive is usually *ne*.

Three passages occur in the D. C. D., one containing a hortatory subjunctive and two containing jussive subjunctives with *non* for *ne*, thus:

Quae cum ita sint, *non tribuamus* dandi regni atque imperii potestatem nisi Deo vero, . . . V, 21.

si fabulis non credunt, *non obtendant* Troiana periuria, III, 2.

Ignoscant autem qui haec legunt et cuncta illa noverunt, et de his quae fortasse firmiora me praetermisisse vel intellegunt vel existimant, *non querantur*, XVII, 19.

(β) *nec* . . . *quidem* for *ne* . . . *quidem*.

One passage occurs with *nec* for *ne*—*quidem*, thus:

Non solum enim non erit tale, quale nunc est in quavis optima valetudine, sed *nec tale quidem* quale fuit in primis hominibus ante peccatum, XIII, 20.

(γ) *aut* . . . *vel* for *aut* . . . *aut*.

In classical Latin *aut* . . . *aut* excludes one of two ideas. In the following passage either the fire did not know Metellus or the goddess of the fire was present, hence *aut* . . . *aut* should be used.

Neque enim *vel* ipsum ignis agnovit, *aut* vero erat ibi numen, quod non etiam si fuisset, fugisset, III, 18.

Augustine, in the D. C. D., without changing the meaning of the adverbs *tantummodo* — “only,” *utique* — “certainly,” *omnino* — “altogether,” “entirely,” *propterea* — “therefore,” “on that account,” seems to have a peculiar fondness for their use. Their frequent recurrence and their occasional use in a meaning more emphatic than is usual in classical Latin is a special characteristic of Augustine’s style.

CHAPTER V—VOICE AND TENSE.

I. VOICE OF THE VERB.

The functions of the active and passive voice of the verb, as found in classical Latin, have, in general, been preserved intact in the Ecclesiastical period of Latin literature.

1. *Use of the Passive Voice.*

In the ecclesiastical Latin we find the passive system much more frequently used than it was in classical times. The frequent use by Christian writers of the impersonal passive forms is a definite proof of the vitality of the passive conjugation during the Ecclesiastical period.

The following are representative passages from Augustine's D. C. D.:

Hoc si aegre *ferendum est*, omnibus, qui in hanc vitam procreati sunt, utique commune est, I, 11.

Quid autem interest, quo mortis genere vita ista finiatur, quando ille, cui *finitur*, iterum mori non cogitur? I, 11.

Advertendum est igitur duas res promissas abrahamae, XVI, 16.

et cum in Iudaea atque Samaria plurimi credidissent, et in alias gentes *itum est*, XVIII, 50.

Inde ad me *curritur*, XXII, 8.

Cf. also I, 13, 19, 20, 21; III, 5; IV, 18; VII, 19, 24, 33; VIII, 15, 23, 25; IX, 4; XIV, 10; XV, 18; XVI, 10; XVII, 6; XX, 20; XXII, 8.

Sometimes we find a passive infinitive in the D. C. D. where we would expect a substantive clause of result, especially after *facere*, thus:

ut illum primo *faceret* mirabiliter *vinci* (= ut *vinceretur*) V, 23.
qui se colendos pro ipsis mortuis, quos deos *putari* (= ut *putarentur*) *fecerant*, VII, 35.

ubi et Romanos et Graecos et Aegyptios, qui de sapientiae nomine gloriati sunt, fecit *intellegi* (= ut Romanos et Graecos *intellegeremus*), VIII, 10.

Cf. also XV, 1; XVI, 5, 32; XVIII, 25; XXI, 25; XXII, 8.

Especially frequently does the passive infinitive occur with impersonal verbs, thus:

quod in eos belli iure *feri licuisset*, II, 2.

magis interpretibus ut possunt seu volunt dubia coniectantibus *credi solet*, III, 17.

solet enim et una res duobus nominibus *appellari*, IV, 18.

Cf. also II, 27; V, 9; VI, 6; XI, 25; XV, 3, 27; XX, 20, 30; XXII, 8; passim.

2. Transitive verbs taken absolutely.

As a general rule, transitive verbs in Latin are followed by their direct complements in the accusative case. It happens in all languages that a transitive verb may be used intransitively, and then we consider the action signified by the verb as independent of an object on which it might be exercised directly. Thus in Latin are *amare*, *potare*, *facere* etc. sometimes used. We say these verbs are used absolutely. By no means is this usage extended to all transitive verbs, but in the writers of the Christian period this usage is somewhat extended. For example, in Jerome we see: *postquam epistolam tuae sanctitatis accepi, confestim, accito notario, ut acciperet impetravi*, Ep. 36, 1; in Avitus, *Librantis pondere verbi*, I, 14; in Arnobius, *quibus ex causis pili nigrorem ingenitum ponant neque omnes pariter sed paulatim adiciendo*, II, 7.

The following occur in the D. C. D.:

qui nolunt *advertere* de quanta . . . liberet, IV, 31. Cf. also V, 7;

VII, 1, 29; XIII, 24; XIX, 1; XX, 13; XXI, 26; XXII, 30.

Suscepit enim Philus ipse disputationem eorum, qui sentirent sine iniustitia geri non posse rem publicam, *purgans* praecipue, ne hoc ipse sentire crederetur, II, 21.

sed ad Iohannem in Aegypti eremo constitutum . . . *misit* atque ab eo nuntium victoriae certissimum accepit, V, 26.

Nec *movere* debet ad hoc non credendum, XVII, 14.

3. Deponent verbs used in a passive sense.

The confusion which arose from deponents being used passively already existed in classical Latin. We find in Cicero the participle of the deponent verb *metiri* used as a passive, thus: *Mensa spatia conficere*, N. D. 227.

Deponents used passively are found in Jerome,¹ Avitus,² Arnobius³ and Cyprian.⁴

One passage in the D. C. D. occurs containing a deponent used in a passive sense, thus:

et ligna eius omnes utiles disciplinas et lignorum fructus mores piorum et lignum vitae ipsam bonorum omnium matrem sapientiam et lignum scientiae boni et mali *transgressi* mandati experimentum, XIII, 21.

In several instances we find Augustine deviating from classical usage in the forms of *coepi* and *desinere*. Regularly the passives of *coepi* and *desinere* are used with a passive infinitive. In the D. C. D. the following active forms with passive infinitives occur: illa atque illa insula *incoli coeperit*, XII, 10.

hoc est esse in morte, ex quo in illo *agi coeperit* ipsa mors, XIII, 10.
quod *promitti coepit* his verbis, XVI, 16.

quod usque adeo *fieri iam desierat* . . . XVIII, 24.

Cf. also XVII, 8; XVIII, 6, 16, 20, 25; XX, 8.

II. TENSES.

1. *Tenses in independent clauses.*

In ecclesiastical Latin, the tenses in general retained the original value which they had in the Classical period. Certain variations in usage, however, crept from colloquial Latin into the literature of all periods. Very frequently we note the present taking the place of the future. This usage⁵ appears in a greater or less degree in all writers. Thus we read in Caesar, *tuemini castra, ego reliquas portas circumeo et castrorum praesidia confirmo*, B. C. 3, 94, 6; in Cicero, *quid me auctor es? advolone an maneo?* Ad. att. 40, 2; in Avitus, *Talis in argento non fulget gratia*, I, 252. We also find the perfect infinitive used for the present, the pluperfect tense for the perfect or imperfect, frequent irregularity of tense sequence, and often in the compound tenses, *fui, fuero, fueram* used for *sum, ero, eram*. The latter phenomenon is due to the

¹ Goelzer (1), 351.

² Goelzer (2), 20.

³ Gabarrou, 128.

⁴ Bayard, 220.

⁵ Schmalz, 484.

fact that the perfect passive participle has come to be felt merely as a passive participle without any connotation of time. The temporal idea accordingly has to be expressed in the auxiliary.

The frequency of the above variations from classical norms may be seen in Gregory,⁶ Cyprian,⁷ Avitus,⁸ Arnobius,⁹ Prudentius¹⁰ etc.

In the D. C. D. the following variations from classical Latin appear:

(α) Future perfect tense for the simple future.

In the Pre-classical period, especially in Plautus and Terence, the future perfect is frequently used for a simple future, thus: Bene merente bene profuerit, Plautus, Capt., 315.

Occasionally we find it even in the Classical period. In Caesar we read: Ego certe meum officium rei publicae praestitero, B. G. 4, 23, 3; and in Cicero, Tu invita mulieres ego accivero pueros, Att. 5, 1, 3. A revival of this usage is found in the Imperial epoch, and it occurs frequently in Christian Latin. We find many occurrences of its use in the D. C. D., thus:

Quis hoc *negaverit*? II, 4.

Dixerit aliquis; Itane tu ista credis? III, 4.

Et cetera, quae sequuntur in verbis praenuntiantis Dei, nullus *dubitaverit* ad Israeliticum populum pertinere, XVI, 24.

Cf. also V, 19, 24; VII, 6; XII, 16; XV, 13; XVII, 15; XVIII, 1, 35; XIX, 1; XX, 1, 30; XXI, 1; passim.

(β) Perfect infinitive for present.

We find the perfect infinitive *fuisse*, in the D. C. D. used for the present in compound tenses where we would expect to find *esse*.

quae dementia est existimare his tutoribus Roman sapienter *fuisse commissam* et nisi eos amisisset non potuisse vastari? I, 3.

ut hoc miserae Troiae facerent eamque Graecis diruendam exurendamque relinquerent, adulterio Paridis *fuisse commotos*, III, 15.

⁶ Bonnet, 634.

⁷ Bayard, 225.

⁸ Goelzer (2), 22.

⁹ Gabarrou, 134.

¹⁰ Lease, 12.

in templo in lecto in convivio inopinate atque impie *fuisse trucidatum!* III, 22.

Cf. also I, 3; V, 5; VIII, 5; X, 32; XI, 6; XII, 14, 22, 28; XIII, 3; XV, 11, 12, 17, 27; XVI, 15; XVII, 5, 17; XX, 19; XXI, 8; passim.

(γ) Pluperfect used for the perfect or imperfect.

A marked feature of the influence of colloquial Latin on the literature of the Christian period is the use of the pluperfect tense for either the perfect or imperfect, and this is evident not only in the active but especially in the passive. Schmalz¹¹ says that Caesar and Cicero avoided this usage, although we find it in rare instances even there, e. g., *qui tum oppido praefuerat*, G. B. 2, 6, 4.

Augustine in the D. C. D. is very free with this use of the pluperfect, thus:

Verum ista opportunius alio loco diligenter copioseque tractanda sunt, nunc, quod institueram de ingratis hominibus dicere, I, 3.

Promiseram etiam me demonstraturum, IV, 2.

Cf. also IV, 2, 29; XVI, 10; XXII, 8, passim.

non iam vitiosam, sicut pridie fuerat disputatum, II, 21.

qui pro defuncto Lucretio suffectus fuerat, III, 16.

Cur enim similiter eodemque tempore . . . sicut nati fuerant, quia utique simul nasci ambo non poterant? V, 5.

Cf. also II, 2, 19, 21; III, 7, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 22, 25, 28, 30; IV, 20, 29; V, 12, 23, 26; VIII, 11; X, 17, 21, 32; XI, 4; XIII, 20, 24; XIV, 11, 15, 27; XV, 6, 8, 11, 15, 23; XVI, 1, 35, 43; XVII, 2, 5, 8, 13, 21, 44; XVIII, 1, 2; XX, 18; XXI, 27; XXII, 8, 24.

In the perfect passive subjunctive, Augustine with a similar freedom, substitutes the forms *fuerim* and *fuissem* for *sim* and *essem*, thus:

ad afflictionem vero eius, quamcumque iste tempore superbia deliciaeque eorum perpessae fuerint, II, 19.

quae forma militi visa fuerit, II, 24.

antequam eorum sacrificia prohibita fuissent, IV, 2.

Cf. also I, 36; IV, 2; VI, 2; VII, 1; X, 17, 21, 25; XI, 5; XII, 10; XIII, 2, 12, 23; XIV, 8; XV, 7, 16, 20, 21; XVI, 11;

¹¹ Schmalz, 487.

XVII, 4; XVIII, 2; XIX, 6, 9, 11; XX, 7, 14, 25, 26; XXI, 16, 17, 18, 24, 25, 27.

2. *Tense in dependent clauses.*

The time of dependent subordinate clauses which take the subjunctive is usually relative, that is, it is either contemporaneous, antecedent or subsequent to the tense of the independent clause. This is what is commonly known as the law of "sequence of tenses."

In classical Latin, the present or perfect subjunctive, or a future participle with *sim*, is used in sentences subordinate to a present, future, definite perfect and future perfect indicative. The imperfect, pluperfect or future participle with *essem* is used in sentences subordinate to an imperfect, historical perfect and pluperfect indicative.

In the writings of all periods of the language we find variations from the above usage. However, such variations are very rare in classical Latin.

Augustine, with the writers of the Christian period, has numerous deviations from this rule, more perhaps than in any other phase of syntax.

The following are irregularities found in the D. C. D.:

quos *dicunt*, ut hoc miserae Troiae *facerent* eamque Graecis . . .
III, 15.

Et ne ipsi quoque sine coniugibus *remanerent*, *additur* Neptuno
Salacia, Plutoni Proserpina, IV, 10.

in Italiae compitis quaedam *dicit* sacra Liberi celebrata cum tanta
licentia turpitudinis, ut in eius honorem pudenda virilia
colerentur, VII, 21.

Qui profecto incontaminabilis Deus *absit* ut contaminationem
timeret . . . IX, 17.

Cf. also I, 2, 10, 20, 28; II, 3, 5, 6, 16; III, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 24,
29; IV, 23; V, 12, 14, 16, 18; VI, 3; VIII, 10, 11; IX, 15;
X, 10, 23, 30; XI, 15; XIII, 9; XIV, 2, 5, 10; XV, 13, 17;
XVI, 1, 4, 15; XVII, 7; XVIII, 9, 27; XIX, 15; XXII, 8;
passim.

CHAPTER VI—MOODS.

The attitude of mind toward a fact, command, or wish is manifested in language by means of mood. This is the function assigned to mood by the Greeks. The Romans had the Greek conception of mood, with this difference, that the Latin subjunctive performs the two functions which the Greeks assigned to the optative and subjunctive respectively.

From the viewpoint of syntax, the infinitive functions as a verbal noun. In the development of the language, however, it received tense forms and certain modal characteristics, and is often used as a substitute for finite moods.

In the periods of the Latin language subsequent to and even preceding the Classical Age, variations in mood usage existed. It is towards the end of the Augustan period that the confusion in moods began to be very evident, due chiefly to a change in the attitude of mind of the people.

Among the variations of the use of mood in the Ecclesiastical period may be mentioned the use of the indicative for the subjunctive in indirect questions.¹ Classical usage adheres strictly to the subjunctive, although in the colloquial Latin of that time the indicative was used. Once even in Cicero's letters we find the indicative in an indirect question instead of the subjunctive, thus: *Vides, propinquitas quid habet*, Att. 13, 18; also in Plautus, *Most.* 829, *Specta, quam acte dormiunt*; and in Propertius; 2, 16, 29, *Aspice, quid Eriphyla invenit*.

In the Ecclesiastical period the indicative in indirect questions appears frequently, but even here it by no means displaces entirely the classical use of the subjunctive.

Other deviations from classical Latin, as found in Christian writers, are: the use of the indicative for the subjunctive in clauses of characteristic, and in subordinate clauses in indirect statements; the indicative or subjunctive with *quod*, *quia* and *quoniam* after *verba sentiendi et declarandi* instead of the accusative and infinitive; infinitives after verbs where in classical Latin we find a substantive clause introduced by *ut* with the subjunctive, etc.

¹ Cf. Kaulen, 189; Goelzer (1), 355; Bonnet, 675.

We shall here take the moods in order and present the variations from classical usage as found in the D. C. D.

I. IMPERATIVE.

The imperative presents no irregularity of any kind.

II. INDICATIVE.

1. *In indirect questions.*

In six passages in the D. C. D. Augustine uses the indicative for the subjunctive in indirect questions, thus:

Utrum *volunt*, eligant, III, 20.

quaerendum est quando *erit* moriens, XIII, 11.

Sed utrum primus homo vel primi homines (duorum erat quippe coniugium) *habebant* istos affectus in corpore animali ante peccatum, . . . non inmerito quaeritur, XIV, 10.

quis non videat quantum rerum capere illa *potuit* magnitudo? XV, 27.

Sed utrum *videbunt* et per oculos corporis cum eos apertos habebunt, inde quaestio est, XXII, 29.

2. *In relative clauses of characteristic.*

Relative clauses of characteristic or description which express cause and concession as well as those with indefinite antecedents, take the subjunctive in classical Latin. It is not unusual to find the indicative in Christian writers. Although relative clauses of characteristic with the subjunctive greatly predominate in the D. C. D., yet the indicative exists in instances where we would expect the subjunctive. Approximately in eight hundred passages, clauses of characteristic occur, only about twenty of which take the indicative, thus:

neque hoc tam ipsis quam illis utile est, quibus *regnant*, IV, 3.

et si qui alii sunt, qui quoquo modo corporis bonum summum bonum esse hominis *opinati sunt*, XIV, 2.

Cf. also I, 9; II, 1, 20; IV, 9, 23; V, 26; VII, 3, 5, 23; VIII, 24; XI, 5; XIV, 13, 20; XXI, 24; XXII, 5, 23.

An interesting example is the following where the classical and non-classical constructions appear in the same passage without any evident difference in meaning.

Verum tamen vix quisquam reperitur deorum non selectorum, qui aliquo crimine faman *traxit* infamem; vix autem selectorum quispiam, qui non in se notam contumeliae insignis *acceperit*, VII, 4.

3. *The indicative instead of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses in indirect statements.*

In classical Latin the indicative is used in subordinate clauses in indirect statements³ if the clauses are explanatory or if they contain statements which are true, independent of the quotation. Of thirteen passages in the D. C. D. in which Augustine uses the indicative in indirect statements, he conforms to this classical usage in all except one, thus:

Eandem terram Cererem, eandem etiam Vestam volunt, cum tamen saepius Vestam non nisi ignem esse perhibeant pertinentem ad focos, sine quibus civitas esse non *potest*, et ideo illi virgines solere servire, IV, 10.⁴

Cf. I, 26; II, 8; IV, 7, 10, 26; V, 12; VII, 5, 11; VIII, 21; IX, 7; X, 25; XII, 8; XIX, 24.

4. *Quia and quod with the indicative for the accusative and infinitive.*

After *verba sentiendi et declarandi* the accusative and infinitive construction is used in classical Latin. *Quod*⁵ with the subjunctive is found in Petronius, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, Suetonius, Florus etc. Petronius, however, is the first to use *quod* with the indicative for the accusative and infinitive. This use of *quod* was still further extended and became very general in the Romance languages. In Christian writers we find *quia*, *quod* and *quoniam* with the indicative used very frequently. Augustine⁶ gives preference to the *quod* construction. One instance of *quia* and a great number of *quod* and the indicative occur, thus:

(a) *quia*.

Nec mirandum est, *quia* Domini omnipotentis angelus dictus est Christus Iesus, XVIII, 35.

³ Riemann et Goelzer, 718; Lane, 1729.

⁴ According to Angus, Sources of the First Ten Books of St. Augustine, Princeton 1906, this is a quotation from an unknown source.

⁵ Schmalz, 540.

⁶ Dokkum.

(β) Quod.

Miror Apollinem nominatum divinatorem in tanto opificio laborasse nescientem *quod* Laomedon fuerat promissa negaturus, III, 2.

Hoc dico, *quod* ipsum Romanum imperium iam magnum multis gentibus subiugatis ceterisque terribile acerbe sensit, IV, 5.

nequaquam tamen dicere et scribere dubitaret, *quod* hi, qui populis instituerunt simulacra, et metum dēmpserunt et errorem addiderunt, IV, 9.

Cf. also VII, 3, 11, 20, 28; IX, 16, 21; X, 8, 10, 27; XI, 2, 8, 13, 23, 26, 31; XII, 1, 2, 7, 10, 19; XIII, 16; XIV, 9, 14, 23; XV, 5, 23, 27; XVI, 3, 26, 29, 32; XX, 30.

In the two following passages, we note that Augustine, while using *quod* with the indicative is mindful of the classical construction, since the accusative and infinitive construction immediately follows:

Laudat idem Sallustius temporibus suis magnos et praeclaros viros, Marcum Catonem et Gaium Caesarem, dicens *quod* diu illa res publica non *habuit* quemquam virtute magnum, sed sua memoria *fuisse illos duos* ingente virtute, diversis moribus, V, 12.

Sed, o homo acutissime, num in istis doctrinae mysteriis illam prudentiam perdidiste, qua tibi sobrie visum est, *quod* hi, qui primi populis simulacra constituerunt, et metum *dēmpserunt* civibus suis et errorem *addiderunt*, castiusque deos sine simulacris *veteres observasse Romanos?* VII, 5.

5. *Forsitan, fortasse and fortassis.*

In classical Latin *forsitan*⁷ is regularly used with the subjunctive (potential). The indicative with *forsitan* becomes frequent in Minucius Felix, Jerome, Sulpicius Severus and other Christian writers. In the D. C. D., *forsitan* occurs in eleven passages, six of which have the indicative with *forsitan*, thus:

Utrisque igitur . . . si nec hostium violentia contrectata esset, *forsitan poterant*, . . . I, 28.

(quod incredibile *forsitan erit*, . . . I, 32.

adstabat forsitan et maritus, VII, 24.

si eos facillimos habent, sic *forsitan habent*, XXI, 4.

⁷ Schmalz, 481.

An *erit forsitan* quisquam, XXI, 24.

non redarguo, quia *forsitan* verum est, XXI, 26.

A confusion appears in the use of *forsitan* and *fortasse* or *fortassis*. *Fortasse* or *fortassis* always take the indicative in pre-classical Latin. Cicero uses them with the subjunctive, and from his time on they appear both with the indicative and subjunctive. In the D. C. D. we find them used in fourteen passages with the indicative, and in nine passages with the potential subjunctive.

Cf. for the indicative, III, 8, 15; IV, 6, 25; VIII, 27; X, 29; XIV, 9; XV, 12; XVI, 20; XVII, 20; XX, 26; XXI, 4, 8, 27; for the subjunctive, I, 9, 30; II, 17; III, 9; XII, 20 (twice); XIII, 18; XIV, 8; XXII, 29.

6. *In causal relatives.*

When a causal relative ⁸ is introduced by *quippe*, as *quippe qui*, the subjunctive is used in classical Latin. Cicero always uses the subjunctive with *quippe qui* with one exception. Plautus and Terence preferred the indicative. Tacitus and Nepos always used the subjunctive and Livy used either mood. From Apuleius ⁹ on, the indicative becomes more common. Many instances of *quippe qui* and the indicative are found in Jerome.¹⁰ This causal relative occurs in the D. C. D. only four times, and always with the indicative, thus:

ad rem *quippe quae agitur* multum pertinet, III, 20.

Ea *quippe quae* non in specie, sed in eius privatione sciuntur, si dici aut intellegi potest, quodam modo nesciendo *sciuntur*, ut sciendo nesciantur, XII, 7.

Patitur *quippe qui afficitur*, XII, 18.

Alia sunt *quippe quae* de quibusque rebus sine concubitu ita nascuntur, XV, 27.

III. SUBJUNCTIVE.

1. *In prohibitions.*

In prohibitions the present and usually the perfect subjunctive with *ne* is confined to poetry in the Classical period. In the prose

⁸ Schmalz, 534.

⁹ Draeger, 491.

¹⁰ Goelzer (1), 356.

of this period prohibitions in the second person are usually expressed by *noli* or *nolite* with the infinitive. In the D. C. D., Augustine conforms to classical usage with one exception, where he expresses a strong prohibition by *non* with a present subjunctive; thus:

Non audias (= nolite audire) degeneres tuos Christo Christiansive detrahentes et accusantes velut tempora mala, II, 29.

For the regular form of a prohibition, cf. II, 9, 29; passim.

2. With *absit*.

In the D. C. D. Augustine makes a very special and frequent use of the third person singular of the present subjunctive of *absum*, i. e. *absit*. He seems to assign to it a two-fold function. (1) *Absit* appears with the force of an optative subjunctive with *utinam*, expressing, however, much more feeling on the writer's part than the ordinary expression of a wish. (2) *Absit* appears as an equivalent of *tantum abest . . . ut . . . ut* of classical prose, the subjunctive differing in no wise from the indicative of *tantum abest*. Frequently however, Augustine sees fit to use but one *ut* clause after *absit*. The following passages illustrate the different uses of *absit* in the D. C. D.:

(α) As an intensive optative subjunctive:

Ceterum *absit* a mente Christiana, I, 25.

Unde, quia sunt ambae similis turpitudinis absurditatis, indignitatis falsitatis, *absit* a veris religiosis; ut sive ab hac sive ab illa vita speretur aeterna, VI, 9.

Cf. also IV, 10; VI, 6; XI, 9; XII, 9; XV, 7; XX, 22; XXI, 15.

(β) As the equivalent of *tantum abest*:

Absit, inquam, *ut* ante omne peccatum iam ibi *fuerit* tale peccatum, ut hoc de ligno admitterent, XIV, 10.

sed tamen *absit*, *ut* quis ita desipiat, ut existimet in numero humanorum digitorum errasse Creatorem, XVI, 8.

Absit ergo *ut* Salomonis tempora in hac promissione praedicta esse credantur, XVII, 13.

Cf. also II, 5; III, 15; IV, 23; V, 26; VI, 9; VIII, 7, 15, 27; IX, 17, 23; XII, 14, 19; XIII, 23; XIV, 10, 21, 26; XV, 8; XVI, 20, 34; XVIII, 41; XIX, 4; XXI, 14, 26; XXII, 20, 25, 29.

Two instances occur where Augustine uses an infinitive with *absit* for an *ut* substantive clause with *tantum abest*, thus:

Unde *absit* a nobis eius *negare* praescientiam, V, 10.

Absit hoc *credere*, XVI, 3.

3. Concessive clauses with *quamquam*.

Concessive clauses with *quamquam* generally take the indicative in classical Latin. Cicero has several passages with *quamquam* and the subjunctive but in each case the subjunctive is due to attraction,¹¹ mood assimilation, or to some other evident reason. We see *quamquam* with the subjunctive in the Augustan poets, always in Juvenal, rarely in Livy, usually in Pliny and Tacitus. In Christian writers¹² the subjunctive seems more prevalent than the indicative.

We can account for the prevalence of the subjunctive with *quamquam* by its analogy to *quamvis*, which always takes the subjunctive. *Quamvis*, in turn, by its analogy to *quamquam*, tends to be used with the indicative.

The indicative with *quamquam* occurs ten times, and the subjunctive twenty-four times in the D. C. D.

(α) *quamquam* with the subjunctive.

Quamquam enim non *esset* de alia tribu Samuel, XVII, 5.

Quamquam et sine additamento praepositionis quaerere *intellegatur* . . . XVII, 6.

Christus autem *quamquam* *sit* caelestis et aeternae conditor civitatis, XXII, 6.

Cf. also I, 28; III, 17, 20; IV, 3; V, 3; VIII, 13; X, 9, 31; XI, 27, 34; XII, 1; XIV, 22, 25; XVII, 11; XVIII, 8, 21; XIX, 7; XXI, 14.

(β) *quamquam* with the indicative.

For *quamquam* and the indicative cf. I, 19, 22; III, 2; IV, 7, 28; V, 6; VII, 31; X, 20; XX, 29; *passim*.

4. Concessive clauses with *quamvis*.

The indicative with *quamvis* occurs twenty times in the D. C. D., but the subjunctive, regular in classical Latin, appears one hundred twenty-four times, thus:

¹¹ Schmalz, 554.

¹² Kaulen, 298; Bonnet, 687; Goelzer (2), 336; Bayard, 226.

(α) *quamvis* with the indicative.

Quid si enim . . . *quamvis* iuveni violenter inruenti etiam sua libidine inlecta *consensit* . . . I, 19.

sine qua omne *quamvis* laudabile ingenium superbia *vanescit* et *decidit*, II, 5.

Quamvis non solum qui sunt apertissime separati . . . non absurde *possunt* videri . . . XVI, 2.

Cf. also II, 14, 22; VII, 16; VIII, 24; XVIII, 24; XIX, 12; passim.

(β) *quamvis* with the subjunctive.

For *quamvis* and the subjunctive cf. I, 8, 12, 14; II, 5, 14, 22; III, 22; IV, 28; V, 9, 12, 19, 21; VI, 8; VII, 2, 15; XIX, 1, 6, 7, 8, 12, 19; passim.

5. Quia, quod and quoniam with the subjunctive instead of the accusative and infinitive.

We have stated above¹³ that *quia*, *quod* and *quoniam* with the indicative are used after *verba sentiendi et declarandi* for the accusative and infinitive. A still more frequent use of these same particles with the subjunctive in such circumstances appears in the D. C. D. Augustine manifests a special fondness, as with the indicative, for *quod* over *quia* and *quoniam*. No instance occurs of *quia* and *quoniam* with the subjunctive for the accusative and infinitive but *quod* and the subjunctive in such circumstances appears very often.

(α) *quod*.

Illa quem virum iam fide media retinebat . . . puto *quod* non culpabiliter *fleverit*, III, 14.

Manifestum est autem, *quod* igni *tribuat* caeli locum, VIII, 11.

nimirum hoc intellegi voluit, *quod* Spiritus sanctus non tantum *sit* Patris, verum etiam ipsius Unigeniti Spiritus, XIII, 24.

Cf. also II, 22, 24; III, 10; IV, 10, 17, 22, 29, 37; V, 20, 23, 26; VI, 4, 7, 8; VII, 3, 4, 17; VIII, 9, 11, 26; IX, 4; X, 6, 11, 21; XI, 4, 6, 10, 13, 14, 15, 24; XII, 6, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 19, 23; XV, 1, 11, 17, 18, 23; XVI, 11, 13, 16, 21, 24, 32, 36, 40; XVII, 5, 8, 12; XVIII, 9, 13, 15, 41; XIX, 1, 23; XX, 3, 5, 9, 24; XXI, 9, 24, 27; passim.

¹³ Cf. section on indicative mood.

IV. INFINITIVE.

1. *Infinitive as subject.*

Properly speaking the infinitive is a verbal noun. It is used very frequently in place of a substantive, rarely however, modified by an adjective or its equivalent. When using the infinitive as a substantive Augustine usually conforms to classical requirements. In three instances, however, we find him modifying the substantive infinitive with a pronominal adjective. He is not alone in this, as even Cicero has a few instances of the same, thus:

hoc non dolere solum voluptatis nomine appellaret, Fin. II, 18;
cum vivere ipsum turbe sit nobis, Att. XIII, 28, c.

In Minucius Felix we read, *nec hoc obsequi* fuit aut ordinis aut honoris, Octavius, 4, 6; in Avitus, *Suum nasci* illi malum erat, qui tradidit nobis bonum, p. 26, 7.

The following three are from the D. C. D.:

Nam et sumus et nos esse novimus et *id esse* ac nosse diligimus, XI, 26.

Ibi *esse nostrum* non habebit mortem, ibi *nosse nostrum* non habebit errorem, ibi *amare nostrum* non habebit offensionem, XI, 29.
 et cum ibi sunt, ubi *esse* per naturae ordinem debent, quantum acceperunt, *suum esse* custodiunt, XII, 5.

2. *Purpose expressed by the infinitive.*

In classical Latin, the infinitive may be used to express purpose only in poetry. Ecclesiastical writers¹⁴ make free use of the infinitive to express purpose especially after verbs of motion where we would expect a supine.

In the D. C. D. of Augustine, ten instances occur where the infinitive is used to express purpose, thus:

Quid ergo dicit iste, qui venit *adorare* sacerdoti Dei et sacerdote Deo? XVII, 5.

Quis enim non videat non potuisse utrumque tunc dici a propheta,

¹⁴ Kaulen, 280; Bayard, 241; Goelzer (1), 370; Goelzer (2), 230; Bonnet, 646.

qui missus fuerat *terrere* comminatione imminentis exitii civitatem? XVIII, 44.

non contrivit, non extinxit, quia pepercit eis, qui nondum venerat eos *iudicare*, sed iudicari ab eis, XX, 30.

Cf. also VII, 30; XIV, 9, 12; XVII, 6; XVIII, 44; XXI, 7, 27.

3. *Infinitive with adjectives.*

In many instances Augustine uses *dignus*, *indignus*, *idoneus* with a relative clause and the subjunctive as in classical Latin but he is just as liable to use an infinitive or *ut* with the subjunctive. The infinitive after *dignus* appears only once in Cicero, but it becomes frequent after his time. Thus, Vergil, Et puer ipse fecit *cantari* dignus et ista, Ecl. 5, 54; Quintilian, *legi* dignus, 10, 1, 96; Arnobius, dignus . . . est tantorum ob numerum gratiam Deus *dici*, I, 38.

In the D. C. D. we find the following:

(a) Dignus.

ut nec temporalia pro eis mala *perpeti* se iudicent *dignas*, I, 9.

quod vere *digni* erant *pati*, XXI, 18.

O hominum corda doctorum! O ingenia litterata *digna credere* ista de Christo! XVIII, 53.

Cf. XXI, 24.

(β) Indignus.

An *indigna* est *praeferri* etiam universae naturae hominum pars aliqua deorum? VI, 4.

Cf. also VIII, 18; X, 30; XI, 5.

(γ) Idoneus.

quod videlicet potentia deorum suorum multos potius sit *idonea conservare* quam singulos, I, 15.

nullus deus ex illa turba vel quasi plebeiorum vel quasi procerum deorum *idoneus* est regna mortalia mortalibus *dare*, VI, 1.

nec per nos ipsos *nosse idonei* sumus, XI, 3.

Cf. also XII, 4; XXII, 30.

Other adjectives construed with the supine (u) in classical Latin are followed by the infinitive in the Imperial epoch. Of these Augustine uses the following in the D. C. D.

Facile est enim cuiquam videri respondisse, qui tacere noluerit, V, 26.

qui nondum mortui sunt, sed inminente morte iam extrema et mortifera afflictione iactantur, *explicare difficile est*, XIII, 9.

For similar examples, cf. II, 24; III, 3; IV, 23, 31; VII, 5, 13; IX, 23; X, 23, 25; XIV, 1, 12, 13, 23, 24; XVI, 1, 8; XVIII, 9, 53; XXI, 6, 7, 27; XXII, 29; passim.

4. *Infinitive with verbs.*

In all periods of the Latin language the infinitive is regularly used after verbs of “willing” and the like. From the Imperial epoch on other verbs have taken on a like usage which were not known to take an infinitive in the Classical period. This usage extended through the Christian period. Among these verbs the following are to be found in the D. C. D.:

Abesse. Two instances of *absit* with an infinitive¹⁵ occur.

Facere. The infinitive with *facere* in the sense of “to cause to” is chiefly colloquial and is frequent in Christian writers.¹⁶

In the D. C. D. we note the following:

ut in sepulcro suo *scribi fecerit*, II, 20.

sed angelum suum et *faciat vincere* quem voluerit, IV, 17.

Cf. also IV, 27; VII, 3, 24, 35; VIII, 10; XI, 8; XII, 6; XIV, 3, 25; XVI, 5, 32; XVIII, 26; XIX, 25; XXI, 5, 7; XXII, 8, 24, 30; passim.

Compellere is not used in classical Latin with an infinitive. This construction is met with for the first time in Ovid. It was in general use from that time on, especially among the Christian writers. It occurs in the D. C. D. thus:

Deinde Titum Tatium regem Sabinorum socium regni Romulus *ferre compulsus est*, III, 13.

Cf. also II, 25; III, 17; IV, 26; VII, 13, 35; VIII, 24; XII, 21; passim.

Quaerere. The infinitive with *quaerere* is poetic in the Classical period, but is taken over into the prose of the Empire, and subsequent times. In the D. C. D. the following examples occur:

¹⁵ Cf. section on subjunctive mood.

¹⁶ Kaulen, 278; Goelzer (1), 373; Goelzer (2), 248; Bayard, 238; Garrou, 135.

Quorum sacra Varro dum quasi ad naturales rationes referre canatur, *quaerens honestare* res turpes, VII, 34.

Cf. also XII, 7; XIV, 14; passim.

Dare. In classical poetry the infinitive is used as a substantive object after *dare*. This usage is taken over extensively by Christian writers of prose. In the D. C. D. we find the following:

immo vero sub specie mirantis et causas rerum talium requirentis *dat intellegi*, illos haec agere spiritus, X, 11.

Cf. also XV, 7; XXI, 7; passim.

Dubitare. After negative expressions of doubt, the subjunctive with *quin* is regularly used in classical Latin. Beginning with Nepos and continuing through Livy and later writers, the infinitive with the accusative is used instead. Evidently *dubito* began to be conceived as *verbum sentiendi*. In the D. C. D. about forty passages occur with *dubitare*, meaning "to doubt," taking the infinitive and accusative. *Dubitare* meaning "to hesitate" occurs about thirty times with the infinitive, as in classical Latin. The following are passages from the D. C. D. with *dubitare* "to doubt" followed by the accusative and infinitive:

Verum tamen *istum*, quem appellat semideum, non heroibus tantum, sed etiam diis ipsis *praeferendum esse* non dubito, II, 14.

immo ideo non *dubitatur ipsum peccare*, cum peccat, V, 10.

Quis enim *dubitet* multo *esse* melius habere bonam mentem quam memoriam quantumlibet ingentem? VII, 3.

Cf. also VIII, 8, 19; IX, 19; XI, 33; XII, 16, 17, 18; XIII, 17; XV, 8, 9, 13, 16; XVI, 8, 24, 29; XVII, 3, 7, 20; XVIII, 40, 47; XX, 19; XXI, 9, 26; XXII, 8, 26; passim.

The subjunctive with *ut* or *ne* after verbs expressing fear, anxiety or danger is regularly used in classical Latin. Cicero, however, sometimes uses *vereri* and *timere* with the infinitive.¹⁷ With the poets of the Empire, this usage became more frequent until finally in the Christian period it was taken over by the writers¹⁸ of prose.

¹⁷ Schmalz, 423.

¹⁸ Goelzer (1), 368; Goelzer (2), 238.

In the D. C. D. we find the three verbs, *vereri*, *timere*, and *metuere* used with the infinitive thus:

(α) *Vereri*.

qui in eum crediderant et *verebantur* palam *confiteri*, ait evangelista, V, 14.

Cf. also V, 19; VI, 6.

(β) *Metuere*.

Si igitur irascuntur, qui non singillatim coluntur, non *metuunt* paucis placatis toto caelo irato *vivere*? IV, 11.

Cf. also V, 20; VI, 8; VII, 18; X, 32; XIV, 9; XVIII, 13.

(γ) *Timere*.

Certe hic minime *timuit* hominis interitum *dicere*, III, 15.

Cf. also IV, 23; V, 20, 24; VII, 34.

In the list of verbs given above, we have enumerated the principal ones which show variations from classical norms. Beside those quoted, there are in the D. C. D. a number of causative verbs which take an objective infinitive. These are but representatives of a type of verb which so occurs in a greater or lesser degree in almost all periods of the language. Among them are the following:

amare, ardere, audere, certare, cogere, desinare, gaudere, instituere, poscere, recipere, studere, persuadere, vetare, valere, niti, etc. etc.

CHAPTER VII—SUBSTANTIVE AND ADJECTIVAL FORMS OF THE VERB.

I. PARTICIPLES.

Participles according to Schmalz are adjectival forms of verbs. In classical Latin they unite all the functions of adjectives with those of the verb. As adjectives they agree with their substantives in gender, number and case. The nature of participles being verbal, they may like verbs have tense and voice, may be modified by adverbs and often take an object.

A varied use of participles, especially as substantives, is characteristic of Christian Latin. This variation was caused mainly by the translation of the Bible from Greek, since Latin, in its lack of participial forms as compared with Greek, tended to use the participles existent more extensively than they were used in the Classical period. The variations from classical Latin which occur in ecclesiastical Latin in the use of participles are the following:

1. *Present.*

(a) Participles as substantives.

Participles in *ans* and *ens* are of frequent occurrence in Christian Latin either as adjectives or substantives. In general, classical Latin admits only the neuter of adjectives¹ and participles as substantives in the nominative and accusative plural. From Livy on, a considerable freedom in the use of participles as substantives is evident. Christian writers extended even this use of participles, and used them as substantives in all cases and both number.

Thus in Cyprian we read: *Adorans* . . . nec illud ignorat quemadmodum . . . publicanus oraverit, etc. 26, 9, 23; in Arnobius, *sequentium* se millia quinque, I, 46; in Avitus, sed *capiens* manibus pomum letale retractat, III, 210; in Gregory, signa multa *faciens* se deum esse declarat, h. F. l. 20 p. 43, 22; in Jerome, sed mihi crede nemo *mentiens* plorat, Ep. 117, 3.

Augustine is no exception to the writers cited; he uses participles in *ans* and *ens* as substantives in all the ways cited above, thus:

¹ See chapter II on adjectives.

(α) Nominative singular.

Ecce, ubi *decolorans* Christum Indaeos praeposuit Christianis, *confitens* quod Iudaei suscipiant Deum, XIX, 23.

Cf. also II, 18; IV, 23; IX, 3; XI, 24; XII, 9; XIII, 21; XIV, 2, 4, 11, 26; XV, 7, 9, 13; XVI, 2, 5, 19, 25, 41; XVII, 4, 16; XVIII, 9, 18; passim.

(β) Nominative plural.

et in caelo *habitantes* terrena animalia nesciremus, XXII, 4.

Cf. also I, 16, 26, 28; IV, 21; V, 8; VIII, 8, 26; XIII, 11, 15; XIV, 2, 3, 9, 17, 20, 21, 28; XV, 1, 4, 5, 11, 15, 20, 23, 27; XVI, 2, 11, 29, 40; XVII, 4, 10, 16, 20; XVIII, 52; XXI, 6; passim.

(γ) Genitive singular.

Et in hoc quidem libro, cuius nomen est apocalypsis, obscure multa dicuntur, ut mentem *legentis* exerceant, XX, 17.

Cf. also I, 16, 25; II, 26; V, 6; XIII, 6; XIV, 8, 10, 24; XV, 7; XVI, 6, 11, 23, 26, 30; XVIII, 32; XXII, 20; passim.

(δ) Genitive plural.

Sed haec in usum cedunt *proficientium*, iuxta illud apostoli, XVI, 2.

Cf. also I, 22; II, 1; III, 22; IV, 23, 29; V, 19; XIV, 10, 20; XV, 20, 23; XVI, 1, 17; XVII, 5, 7; XVIII, 31; XIX, 15; XXII, 8; passim.

(ε) Dative singular.

quia veniens transiturus est; *venienti* quippe ibitur obviam, non *manenti*, XX, 20.

Cf. also I, 15, 21; IV, 18; V, 12; VI, 10; XIV, 8, 11; XV, 7, 11, 23; XVI, 35, 39; XVIII, 38; XXII, 8; passim.

(ζ) Dative plural.

Similiterque *interrogantibus*, quando eum viderint in horum indigentia constitutum, XX, 5.

Cf. also I, 9, 13, 22, 28; II, 1, 2, 4; IV, 34; XI, 16; XII, 17; XIV, 6; XVI, 23; XVII, 4; XVIII, 2, 12, 43; XIX, 15; XXI, 20; passim.

(η) Accusative singular.

Sed si ita dicatur, non exprimit *comminantem*, XVI, 6.

Cf. also II, 17; III, 15; XIV, 8, 9, 20; XV, 6, 17, 18, 26, 27; XVI, 37; XXI, 27; XXII, 8; *passim*.

(θ) Accusative plural.

quibus vult esse consultum, ut et perterreat *superbientes* et excitet *neglegentes* et exerceat *quarentes* et alat *intellegentes*, XV, 25.

Cf. also IV, 26, 33; VI, 10; XI, 29; XV, 25; XVI, 2; XVII, 7; *passim*.

(ι) Ablative singular.

sed utrumque simul currit isto quasi fluvio atque torrente generis humani, malum quod a parente trahitur, et bonum a *creante* tribuitur, XXII, 24.

Cf. also I, 7; XIV, 10; XV, 2; XVI, 37; XXII, 24; *passim*.

(κ) Ablative plural.

Ut enim esset desideratus *expectantibus*, prius oportuit eum dilectum esse *credentibus*, XVIII, 35.

Cf. also I, 20; II, 2; IV, 21; V, 9; VIII, 19; XIV, 9, 21; XV, 14; XVI, 6, 37; XVII, 8, 9; *passim*.

(b) As predicate with copula.

About fifteen instances of the present participle as a predicate with a copula verb occur in the D. C. D. This usage is prevalent throughout the colloquial language, and is thus found also in the writers² of pre-classical times. The following are from the D. C. D.:

non simplex, sed propter suam invictissimam voluntatem, qua potens est (= potest) facere, ut nec orta occidant nec conexasolvantur, XIII, 16.

tamquam ad eos pertinens, qui sunt spe gaudentes (= gaudent) in tribulatione patientes (= patiuntur) XVIII, 32.

quanto magis Deus potens est (= potest) facere . . . XXI, 7.

Cf. also II, 24, 25; IV, 10; XII, 6, 7; XIII, 9, 11, 17; XX, 20; XXII, 24.

(c) Present participle instead of *postquam* clause.

In classical Latin the present participle is used to denote action contemporaneous with the action of the main verb. In ecclesiastical³ Latin the present participle is used frequently for a *post-*

² Plautus, Poen. V, 2, 78; Terence, Andr. 508.

³ Schmalz, 450; Kaulen, 228; Bonnet, 561; Goelzer (2), 289.

quam clause equivalent to the Greek aorist participle, which denotes action antecedent to that of the main verb. In the Acts of the Apostles we read: *Ascendens autem frangensque panem et gustans, satisque allocutus usque ad lucem sic profectus est*, XX, 11.

In the D. C. D. very few certain examples occur but the following may be noted:

Itaque et in Aegypto didicit quaecumque magna illic habebantur atque docebantur, et inde in eas Italiae partes *veniens*, ubi Pythagoreorum fama celebrabatur, quidquid Italicae philosophiae tunc florebat, auditis eminentioribus in ea doctoribus facillime *comprehendit*, VIII, 4.

Cf. also X, 24; XII, 9; XIV, 7; XV, 9; XIX, 23.

(d) Present participle for ablative of the gerund.

The present participle so frequently employed by Augustine and by many other Christian writers, is used also instead of the ablative of the gerund, implying in a general sense the idea of means or instrument, thus:

Bellum erat, ut qui feriebatur, si posset, feriret; pax autem, non ut qui evaserat viveret, sed ut moriens (= moriendo) non repugnaret, III, 28.

Saepe multumque Plotinus asserit sensum Platonis explanans (= explanando), X, 2.

facit Deus alia in contumeliam vasa irae, alia in honorem vasa misericordiae, illis reddens (= reddendo) quod debetur in poena, istis donans (= donando) quod non debetur in gratia, XV, 21.

Cf. also II, 21; IV, 16, 30; XI, 33; XIV, 3; XIX, 23; passim.

2. *The verbal adjective in urus.*

(a) As attributive adjective and substantive.

In Ciceronian Latin, we find only *futurus* and *venturus* used as attributive adjectives.⁴ From the Imperial epoch, the future participle is used both as an attributive adjective and a substantive. This usage passed on to ecclesiastical Latin and occurs frequently in writers of that period. Augustine, in common with the writers of his age, uses the future participle both as an attributive adjective and a substantive. In the D. C. D. the following occur:

⁴ Schmalz, 453.

(a) As adjective.

Marcus Marcellus, qui Syracusas urbem ornatissimam cepit, refer-
tur eam prius flevisse *ruituram* et ante eius sanguinem suas
illi lacrimas effudisse, I, 6.

Sed quaedam, inquiunt, sanctae feminae tempore persecutionis, ut
insectatores suae pudicitiae devitarent, in *rapturum* atque
necaturum se fluvium proiecerunt . . . I, 26.

et terras vitae praesentis ornaret sua felicitate res publica, et vitae
aeternae culmen beatissime *regnatura* conscenderet, II, 19.

Cf. also II, 5, 24; VIII, 23; XIV, 23; XX, 20; passim.

(β) As substantive.

Quocirca nullo modo cogimur aut retenta praescientia Dei tollere
voluntatis arbitrium aut retento voluntatis arbitrio Deum
(quod nefas est) negare praescium *futurorum*, V, 10.

Si ergo pro libertate *moriturorum* et cupiditate laudum, V, 18.

Cf. also I, 13; II, 5, 24; VII, 17; XII, 21; XIII, 19, 23; passim.

(b) To designate purpose.

The future participle used to express purpose after verbs of
motion occurs for the first time in C. Gracchus as quoted by Gellius.
It appears once in Cicero and Sallust and some times in the poets.
The writers of the Empire used it more extensively, and its use
increased until it became frequent in the writers of the Christian
period. The following are instances of the future participle ex-
pressing purpose in the D. C. D.:

Et tamen si in harenam procederent *pugnaturi* inter se gladiatores,
III, 14.

Hic ostendit, quod in ea carne veniet *iudicaturus*, in qua venerat
. . . XX, 6.

quando Christus venturus est vivos *iudicaturus* et mortuos, XX, 20.

3. *Participle in tus.*

In general we find all Christian writers conforming to Classical
norms when using the perfect passive participle. They have a
tendency, however, to make an extended use of this participle with
habere,⁵ a construction rarely found in the Classical period. This
construction seems to be analagous to that of the present participle

⁵ Schmalz, 462.

with *esse*, and forms as it were a periphrastic conjugation. Instances of this are met with in all periods of the language. This usage becomes the rule in the Romance languages in the formation of compound tenses. Thus in Plautus we read: *immo omnis res relectas habeo*, Stich, 326; in Cicero, *Sic habuisti statutum cum animo ac deliberatum*, Verr. II, 3, 95; in Arnobius, *aliquos numeros cotidianis habet ex usibus notos*, II, 24; in Gregory, *habemus scriptum in cannonibus*, h. F. 6, 15 p. 259, 5.

In Augustine's D. C. D. the following examples occur:

quamdiu sub terra essent, praepositam voluerunt habere deam Seiam, IV, 8.

Aut certe istam mali colant, qui nolunt habere merita, quibus dea possit Felicitas invitari, IV, 18.

habebat adiunctum, VIII, 14.

effectum habere non potuit? XVII, 6.

Quas moras ille suspectas habens multumque formidans, XXII, 8.

II. GERUND.

The gerund is a neuter verbal substantive used only in the oblique cases of the singular. It corresponds to the articular infinitive in Greek and to the participial substantive in English. Schmalz⁶ calls it a declined infinitive. It expresses the incomplete action of a verb. In classical Latin, whenever an object depends on a transitive verb, the gerundive construction is used. In all Latin literature exceptions to the above take place, and gerunds of transitive verbs are sometimes found with a substantive object, and regularly so with neuter pronouns and neuter plural adjectives.

1. Genitive of the gerund.

In classical Latin there are instances where the genitive of the gerund takes an object but this is limited as stated already to neuter pronouns and neuter plural adjectives. This is met with often in Plautus, very seldom in Cicero and Caesar, frequently in Livy, more so in Christian writers. But it is interesting to note that among the latter, some, notably Cyprian, are remarkable for their adherence to classical norms, and manifest a decided preference for the gerundive construction. Augustine in his D. C. D.

⁶ Schmalz, 440.

has numerous instances of an object with the genitive of the gerund, thus :

se non subtraxerunt, dando eis licentiam male *tractandi homines* quos liberet, IV, 28.

Numquidnam saltem mediocriter eos dixit errasse, ut hanc artem invenirent *faciendi deos*, VIII, 24.

Cf. also I, 18; IV, 28; X, 11; VIII, 23, 24; XIV, 15; XVIII, 51; XIX, 6, 17.

2. Accusative of the gerund.

The accusative of the gerund with *ad* is frequent in all periods of the literature. A direct complement ⁷ accompanying the accusative of the gerund with *ad* is non-classical. This construction is exceptional in pre-classical Latin. The first example known is in Varro, RR. I, 23, *ad* discernendum vocis figuras. It is rare in the Imperial epoch, but becomes frequent in ecclesiastical Latin. Gregory ⁸ uses it frequently, but Cyprian seldom. It occurs in Avitus only once, and not one instance appears in the D. C. D.

3. Ablative of the gerund.

It is not unusual to find in all periods of the Latin language the ablative of the gerund taking an object. Christian Latin offers a striking contrast to classical Latin in the frequency of its use. Classical writers ⁹ are careful, however, not to use a direct complement after an ablative gerund governed by a preposition, although some instances do exist in classical Latin, even in Cicero, thus: a nimis intuendo *fortunam* T, D. 3, 20.

In Varro we read, in supponendo *ova*, r. r. 3, 9, 12; in Livy, in parcendo *uni*, IV, 44, 9.

Only two instances occur in the D. C. D., thus:

ut mortalitate transacta et ex mortuis faceret inmortales, quod *in se resurgendo* monstravit, IX, 15.

Nam eum terrenorum corporum, sicut *onera in gestando* sentire consuevimus, XIII, 18.

Many instances of the ablative of the gerund, where the idea of

⁷ Schmalz, 441.

⁸ Bonnet, 655.

⁹ Schmalz, 442.

means is weak or non-existent and where accordingly we would expect a present participle, are met with in the D. C. D. In general, it may be stated, that this is a usage common to all Christian writers.¹⁰ The following are instances from the D. C. D.:

Sequitur tamen et ea velut *inquirendo* commemorat, X, 11.

Hoc quippe *arguendo* interrogavit dicens: XV, 7.

ad patriarcham Sem *recapitulando* revertetur et orditur inde generationes usque ad Abraham, XVI, 10.

Cf. also I, 3, 9, 17, 34; IV, 10; VII, 24, 28; VIII, 17; X, 32; XII, 24; XIV, 11, 13; XV, 7, 23; XVII, 2, 12, 17, 19; XVIII, 32, 34, 43; XX, 29; passim.

III. GERUNDIVE.

The gerundive,¹¹ a verbal adjective, expresses, in an adjectival form, the incompleted action of a transitive verb, which action is exerted on a substantival object. The substantive stands in the case required by the context and the gerundive agrees with it.

Besides using the gerundive as Classical writers did, the Christian writers made the following extended uses: 1. They gave it a pure participial value, often assigning it the place of a subordinate clause, as in Avitus: Quocirca volumen per vas temperatius ingerendum . . . p. 73, 7.

Augustine in the D. C. D. uses the following with the force of a subordinate clause.

Romanus imperator non ex civibus *dolendam*, sed ex hostibus *laudandam* victoriam reportaverat, I, 24.

Illi habeantur dii veri, qui hanc *adipiscendam* populis procuraverint adeptamque servaverint, II, 20.

An aliter stat *adorandus* in locis sacris, quam procedit *ridendus* in theatri? VI, 7.

Sed absit ut vera sint, quae nobis minantur veram miseriam numquam *finiendam*, sed interpositionibus falsae beatitudinis saepe ac sine fine *rumpendam*, XII, 21.

Cf. also I, 3, 6, 24; II, 8, 20, 27; III, 10, 15; V, 12; VI, 2, 7, 8; VII, 27, 30, 35; VIII, 1, 10, 19; IX, 5; X, 5, 11, 32; XV, 21; passim.

¹⁰ Schmalz, 447.

¹¹ Schmalz, 466; Lane, 399.

In classical Latin, *ad*, seldom another preposition, was frequently joined to the gerundive construction to express purpose; but from Livy on the use of other prepositions combined with the gerundive were similarly used. Thus in the Christian writers we meet several different prepositions with the gerundive to express purpose.

Augustine in the D. C. D. uses *pro*, *propter* and *ob*, besides *ad*, thus:

1. *Pro with the gerundive.*

Omnes enim qui sic offerunt, profecto in peccatis sunt, *pro quibus dimittendis* offerunt, . . . XX, 25.

non nobis esse peccata, *pro quibus dimittendis* debeamus orare et eis, XXI, 27.

sed laudabiliter toleratur *pro tenendo* vel *adipiscendo bono*, XIII, 8. Cf. also I, 6, 29; II, 23; III, 16; V, 18, 24; VI, 1.

2. *Propter with the gerundive.*

Ad haec addunt mulieres adtributas Libero et vinum *propter libidinem concitandam*, VI, 9.

ut nec ipsi, *propter quos liberandos* mediator effectus est, IX, 15.

Propter hoc et de venia in vicem danda multa praecipiuntur et magna cura *propter tenendam pacem*, XV, 6.

cuius apostolus meminit *propter Dei gratiam commendandam*, XVI, 23.

3. *Ob with the gerundive.*

Ceterum illos, quibus conversatio cum diis ad hoc esset, ut *ob inveniendum fugitivum* vel praedium comparandum, X, 11.

IV. SUPINES.

The supines are verbal substantives which are used in place of the infinitive in certain situations. The use¹² of the supine in *um* was quite frequent in the pre-classical period until the time of Caesar and Cicero. Then the gerund with *causa* or *gratia* was preferred. The supine construction seems never to have gained favor with Latin authors. In some, it is totally absent.

Prudentius, the Christian poet, contemporary of Augustine, used

¹² Schmalz, 465.

it but once in his writings. In the D. C. D. Augustine uses the supine in *um* once and then according to classical usage, thus:

et misit ad Apollinem Delphicum *sciscitatum* quid intellegendum esset quidve faciendum, XVIII, 9.

The supine in *u*, used generally after the adjectives *facilis*, *difficilis*, *iucundus*, and the like is also not a favorite construction with authors. Stock expressions such as the "*mirabile dictu*" and "*visu*" of Virgil are retained. Schmalz says that in general the poets of the Classical and Augustan periods and writers of later ages prefer the infinitive with these adjectives.¹³

¹³ For the use of this construction in the D. C. D., cf. section on infinitives.

CHAPTER VIII—PREPOSITIONS.

In the early history of the Latin language, many prepositions were not distinguished from adverbs in form or meaning. With the development of the language, however, prepositions took on the definite function of determining more clearly the direction of an action expressed by a verb.

In the Classical period the functions of the prepositions were clearly defined and the cases which they governed were definitely established, but later on as the language spread through the provinces, there arose an uncertainty as to the case following the prepositions or a greater variety in the cases so used.

To this extension of usage in ecclesiastical Latin, and especially in the D. C. D., our attention is directed in this chapter. The order of treatment is first, prepositions construed with the accusative, then those with the ablative, and finally those construed with both accusative and ablative.

I. PREPOSITIONS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

1. *Ad*.

The preposition *ad* assumes even in classical Latin various significations, i. e., it has a local and temporal meaning, and is used with persons as well as things. *Ad* means, "to," "toward," "near," "at."

The variations from classical norms in the use of *ad* as found in the D. C. D. are the following:

(a) *Ad* with names of towns to designate limit of motion.

Two instances of *ad* with the names of towns, contrary to classical usage, appear, thus:

Aesculapius autem ab Epidauro ambivit *ad Romam*, III, 12.
cum Loth filio fratris et Sarra coniuge perrexit in terram Chanaan
et pervenit usque *ad Sichem*, XVI, 18.

From the classical use of the preposition *ad* to designate end of motion, Christian writers ¹ extended it to *ad hoc* meaning "to this

¹ Bonnet, 585; Goelzer (2), 149.

point" "to this effect." This recurs occasionally in the D. C. D. The total list of passages in which *ad hoc* occurs is as follows:

Ad hoc enim speculatores, I, 9; also IX, 15; X, 11; XI, 22, 24; XIV, 16; XV, 27; XVI, 11; XVIII, 42, 46; XIX, 14; XX, 1, 6, 7, 11, 21; XXI, 22, 27; XXII, 8, 12, 22.

Beginning with Terence² who was the first to use *usque* as a preposition with the accusative of names of places to determine motion towards, *usque* alone and *usque ad* are employed by classical writers notably Cicero, thus: *usque ad Numantiam*; Ep., III, 8, 4, *usque ad Iconium*. In the D. C. D. is found an interesting extension of *ad* reinforced by *usque*. It is applied to persons considered as being the end to which the movement signified by the verb tends, thus:

Benedictus igitur duobus filiis Noe atque uno in medio eorum maledicto deinceps *usque ad Abraham* de iustorum aliquorum, qui pie Deum colerent, XVI, 2.

Denique sicut illic enumeratis supra generationibus *usque ad Noe* . . . XVI, 12.

Cf. also III, 9; IV, 2; XII, 13; XVI, 24, 43; XVIII, 1; passim.

(b) *Ad* with adverbial expressions.

Classical Latin admits adverbial expressions in combination with *ad* as *ad hunc modum*, *ad similitudinem*, *ad hunc morem*, *ad rationem* etc. In the use of such phrases Augustine conforms to classical usage, but we find in the D. C. D., other expressions formed by analogy with these, containing the accusative neuter singular of an adjective and *ad*, which are peculiar to ecclesiastical Latin, thus:

Non mihi autem videtur posse *ad liquidum* colligi, VIII, 3.

donec *ad perfectum* sanetur . . . XI, 28.

quandoque *ad initium* illa detractio perducetur, XII, 13.

Cf. also I, 9; XIII, 15; XVI, 12; XX, 30.

(c) *ad* after adjectives.

Ad and the accusative depending upon an adjective is an ante- and post-classical usage, although not entirely unknown in Ciceronian Latin. We meet it in the Tusculan Disputations, Chrysippi

² Schmalz, 410.

ad veritatem firmissima est, ad tempus aegritudinis difficilis, III, 79. Augustine in the D. C. D. uses a similar construction in the following passages:

Ad altare . . . *ad Dei honorem cultumque constructum*, VIII, 27.
Deinde testamentum *factum ad Abraham* terram Chanaan proprie manifestat . . . XVI, 24.

Ad aliquid enim *emortuum* corpus intelligere debemus, XVI, 28.
universam Asiam, quae totius orbis *ad numerum* partium *tertia* dicitur, *ad magnitudinem* vero *dimida* reperitur, XVIII, 2.

(d) *Ad* with verbs.

Aptare in classical Latin takes the dative. Livy however uses it with *ad* and the accusative, thus:

Aptanda ad pugnam classe, XXI, 49, 11.

In this idiom it passed through various authors into Christian Latin. In the D. C. D. we meet the following:

et soli nervi in citharis atque huius modi vasis musicis *aptantur ad cantum*, XVI, 2.

The use of *ad* with the accusative after verbs compounded with *ad* such as: *adaugere*, *adcurare*, *addubitare* etc. is characteristic of both colloquial and ecclesiastical Latin.³

In the D. C. D. the following occur:

Ad haec addunt mulieres . . . VI, 9.

sunt qui *ad vadimonia* sua deos *advocent*, VI, 10.

quoniam rex Aegyptus Ptolomaeus eos *ad hoc opus asciverat*, XV, 13.

quantum *ad prosperitatem adtinet* temporalem, XVII, 2.

cum *ad eum aspexerint* . . . XX, 30.

Cf. also V, 1; VII, 6; VIII, 2; XVIII, 25.

2. *Apud*.

(a) *Apud* with accusative for a locative case.

The preposition *apud* was used more extensively in colloquial language than in the diction of literature. Irregularities in use accordingly occur even in Tacitus and Suetonius, and especially

³ Schmalz, 394.

in Christian Latin, which was greatly influenced by the colloquial speech. In Tacitus we find *apud* with the accusative for a locative case: *dum vigeat aetas, militari laude apud Germanias floruit*, Hist. I, 49; and in Suetonius, *apud Iudaeam*, Vesp. 5; in Jerome, *cui apud Antiochiam debeam communicare*, Ep. 15, 5; in Avitus, *apud Lugdunum*, 66, 4.

Augustine uses this construction in eight passages in the D.C.D., thus:

si apud Romam erant, . . . *fortasse apud Ilium erant*, III, 8.

nobis apud Karthaginem dicebatur, V, 23.

Apud Hipponem Zaritum est homo . . . XVI, 8.

ut omittam qua apud Antiochiam facere coeperat, XVIII, 52.

evenit ut apud Carthaginem . . . XXI, 4.

Apud Carthaginem autem quis novit . . . XXII, 8.

Apud Hipponem Bassus quidam Syrus . . . XXII, '8.

Nondum est autem biennium, ex quo apud Hipponem regium coepit esse . . . XXII, 8.

The following passages contain *apud* with the accusative for the locative ablative.

Hoc insitum habuisse Romanos etiam deorum apud illos aedes indicant, V, 12.

*qui suas futuras poenas apud sanctorum martyrum memorias*⁴ *inminere maerebant*, VIII, 26.

Offero tibi sacrificium Petre vel Paule vel Cypriane, cum apud eorum memorias offeratur Deo, VIII, 27.

(b) For *in* or *cum*.

Eight instances occur where *apud* is used with pronouns and the accusative of *animus* or its equivalent to signify an idea, which would be rendered in classical Latin by *in* or *cum* with the ablative thus:

quae mala civitas illa perpessa sit ab origine sua sive apud se ipsam sive in provinciis sibi iam subditis, II, 2.

quam naturalem vocant, apud meliores animas inveniret locum, VI, 8.

⁴In Christian Latin the word *memoria* took on a new meaning, viz., a shrine, especially a monument to a martyr. In this sense it is used here.

In se quippe habebant quod non videbant, et *apud se* imaginabantur quod foris viderant, VIII, 5.

ac per hoc Deus, inquiunt, rerum quas facit omnium finitarum omnes finitas *apud se* rationes habet, XII, 18.

retento *apud se* praecepto Dei, XVI, 15.

quae pro malo aureo adipiscendo *apud iudicem* Paridem de pulcritudinis excellentia certasse narrantur . . . XVIII, 10.

cum ipse *apud se* ipsum maneat idem qui fuit, XXII, 2.

meque gaudente et *apud me* Deo gratias agente ingreditur . . . XXII, 8.

In citing an author *apud* is regularly used in classical Latin: in citing a particular work *in* is used. Augustine, in tracing the history of the Septuagint, uses *apud* and *in* for both translations. No distinction in the use of these two prepositions is evident, thus:

quidquid est *in Hebraeis* codicibus et non est *apud* interpretes septuaginta, noluit ea per istos, sed per illos prophetas Dei Spiritus dicere. Quidquid vero est *apud Septuaginta*, in Hebraeis autem codicibus non est, XVIII, 43.

3. *Ante*.

As a preposition, *ante* in classical Latin means “before,” “in front of,” and it may be considered as stationary in meaning through all the periods of Latin literature. The use of *ante* as an adverb occurs rarely in classical Latin and then usually in the poets. As an adverb, it is found sometimes in Livy, but few authors later so used it. About thirty instances of *ante* with its adverbial force occur in the D. C. D. thus:

qui rem publicam ingratam et a Veientibus *ante* defendit . . . III, 17.

Ubi certe agnoscendum est, quod *ante* promiseram, XVI, 10.

Cf. also I, 6, 7; III, 29; V, 17; VII, 8, 19; X, 5, 17, 25; XI, 32; XII, 18, 21, 26; XIII, 23; XIV, 18; XVI, 4, 28, 39; XVII, 4, 5, 18; XVIII, 45; XIX, 11; XX, 6, 7, 14; XXII, 20, 29.

4. *Post*.

Post meaning “after” is one of those prepositions which like *ante* presents no change in meaning throughout the history of the language. In common with *ante* it retains an adverbial force, which has no greater patronage of writers in general than *ante*.

The following are the passages from the D. C. D. wherein *post* is used as an adverb:

Unde tanto *post* ex Abrahae semine carne suscepta de se ipso ait ipse Salvator, X, 32.

Nam ubi tenebrae inculpabiles sunt . . . non ante, sed *post* infertur, XI, 20.

Cf. also III, 26, 30; IV, 6; V, 12; VI, 10; VIII, 23; X, 25; XIII, 11; XIV, 2, 11; XVII, 17; XVIII, 31, 33, 42, 45, 54; XX, 5, 7, 8, 15, 23; XXI, 23; XXII, 6, 8.

Post frequently occurs in ecclesiastical Latin with a substantive and a perfect passive participle, where we would ordinarily expect an ablative absolute in classical Latin. Thus in Gregory we read, qui *post* creata mundi totius elementa glebam adsumens limi hominem plasmavit, h. F. 1, 1p, 35, 7; in Avitus *post* denuntiati poematis finem p. 274, 6; in Cyprian, *post* episcopatum non ex-ambitum, 630, 11.

In the D. C. D. we find the following:

Nempe *post perpetrata facinora* nec quemquam scelestum indemnatum impune voluistis occidi, I, 19.

Ex hoc iure ac bono *post expulsum* cum liberis suis regem *Tarquinum*, II, 17.

Cf. also II, 16, 18, 19; XII, 21; XV, 11, 13; XVIII, 19; XX, 18.

5. *Iuxta*.

Iuxta as a preposition is used especially in the Classical period with the local meaning of "near." Livy⁵ is the first to vary its meaning, and give it the value of *secundum*. Ecclesiastical writers use it also in the sense of *secundum*, "according to."

With this meaning Augustine uses *iuxta* in his Letters and Sermons, and it occurs in eight passages of the D. C. D. as follows:

iuxta id dicitur, XIV, 11.

cum quibus et ipsi dii erant *iuxta* illud psalmi, XV, 23.

Sed haec in usum cedunt proficientium, *iuxta* illud apostoli, XVI, 2.

Cf. also XIV, 9; XVII, 7; XX, 24; XXI, 22; XXII, 26.

6. *Ob*.

Plautus⁶ and Terence used *ob* with *hoc* to express cause. Caesar and Cicero did not favor its use. In the historians Sallust, Livy

⁵ Schmalz, 397.

⁶ Schmalz, 399.

and Tacitus, it was revived and it became common in ecclesiastical Latin. Augustine with the writers of the period used it frequently. The following is a complete list of the passages in which *ob hoc* is used in the D. C. D.

qui *ob hoc* etiam ipse Africani cognomen invenit, III, 21.

ut per hanc oporteat eis constellationes fieri diversas propter diversum horoscopum et *ob hoc* diversos omnes cardines, V, 5.

Cf. also V, 18; VIII, 12, 15, 21; IX, 15; X, 30, 32; XI, 1, 10, 27; XII, 6; XIV, 24; XVII, 10; XVIII, 2, 4, 38, 43; XIX, 1; XX, 24.

7. *Propter.*

Propter with its causal meaning in the Classical period retains the same force in ecclesiastical Latin and is used quite frequently therein. The combinations *propter quod* and *propter quae* are non-classical. The former occurs for the first time in Columella and the latter appears not earlier than the period of Quintilian.

In the D. C. D. *propter quod* occurs about thirty-five times and *propter quae* four times, thus:

(a) *propter quod.*

propter quod eis dicunt . . . VI, 9.

propter quod vetus dicitur testamentum, X, 25.

Unde sequitur illud, *propter quod* et cetera de eodem psalmo dicenda visa sunt, X, 25.

Cf. also XIII, 23; XV, 7, 11, 16, 21, 22; XVI, 28; XVII, 4, 7, 9, 11, 16, 20, 24; XVIII, 35, 38, 44; XIX, 1, 4, 5, 8, 19, 26, 27; XX, 6, 17, 22; XXI, 4, 5; XXII, 8, 29, 30.

(b) *Propter quae.*

propter quae non audent offendere homines, I, 9.

propter quae isti sibi . . . deos multos falsosque fecerunt, VII, 30.

propter quae significanda historia ipsa conscripta est, XVIII, 44.

propter quae dicis esse fugiendam, XIX, 4.

8. *Circa.*

In classical Latin *circa* with the accusative means "around," "about." In the Silver period this preposition is used with a figurative meaning, of *de*, *in* or *ad*. We see it thus used in Tacitus, Ann. 11, 15; in Pliny, 29, 1, 5; in Suetonius . . . Caes. 45; in Cyprian, 303, 2; in Arnobius, V, 10; in Jerome, Ep. 9.

In Augustine's D. C. D. there are nine passages containing *circa* eight of which are used with this figurative meaning, thus:

quae maxime *circa* corporum est occupata naturam, VII, 5.

Cum enim dixisset proavos suos multum errantes *circa* deorum rationem, VIII, 26.

ceterum *circa* ea, quae vere bona sunt, X, 11.

Cf. also XV, 24; XVI, 34; XXI, 18; XXII, 21.

9. *Secundum*.

Secundum in classical Latin marks a relation in space and means "immediately after," "next to." In a figurative sense it is much used with the meaning "according to" and in this sense it is used in Christian writers. Augustine uses it about one hundred and fifty times in the D. C. D. with this figurative sense only, thus:

Enitar enim suo loco, ut ostendam *secundum* definitiones ipsius Ciceronis, II, 21.

nec fortuita est nec fatalis *secundum* eorum sententiam sive opinionem, V, 1.

Cf. also VIII, 8, 10, 19, 26; IX, 5, 10; X, 13, 21, 29; XI, 10, 21, 27; XII, 23; XIV, 7, 8, 9, 11, 21, 28; XVI, 5, 15, 21, 24; XXII, 2, 11, 14, 21, 27, 29; passim.

10. *Per*.

In classical Latin *per* indicates motion in space as well as in time, and means "through," "over." From the idea of space implied in its use were developed instrumental and modal, as well as causal and less clearly defined uses. Of all the prepositions construed with the accusative, *per* after *ad* is most frequently used in Christian Latin. In classical Latin, when cause is expressed by a preposition, *ob* or *propter* with the accusative is regularly used, but from the Augustan Age on, we frequently find cause expressed by *per* and the accusative.

(a) Expressing cause.

We read in Quintilian, *per hoc quod* for *propter*, 2, 17, 30; in Florus, *per hoc*, 3, 12, 9; in Apuleius, *ac per hoc*, Met. 9, 16; in Cyprian, *ac per hoc*, 729, 14.

Augustine in the D. C. D. has a remarkably frequent use of this expression. The total list of passages in which it occurs is as follows:

Ac per hoc qui Domino suo monente oboedierant, I, 10.

Ac per hoc et Neptuno et Plutoni, II, 15.

Ac per hoc si tam celeriter alter post alterum nascitur, V, 2.

Cf. also I, 14, 17, 20; IV, 5, 31; V, 13; VI, 1, 6; VII, 9, 14, 16, 21; VIII, 1, 5, 6, 16; IX, 8, 13, 15, 21; X, 1, 5, 6, 25, 32; XI, 4, 10, 13, 23, 29, 34; XII, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 13, 16, 18; XIII, 5, 9, 11, 14; XIV, 1, 8, 10, 11, 13, 19, 23, 27; XV, 3, 12, 14, 15, 18, 20, 27; XVI, 3, 15, 28, 32, 36, 41; XVII, 4, 6, 12, 16; XVIII, 18, 21, 27, 37, 54; XIX, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 21, 28; XX, 2, 8, 9, 11, 13, 20, 26; XXI, 1, 5, 18, 22, 25, 26, 27; XXII, 2, 4, 11, 19, 23, 27.

(b) Expressing means.

The use of *per* with the accusative taking the place of the ablative of means is not foreign to classical literature, where it is used in a figurative sense with persons. In ecclesiastical Latin we note a general tendency in the use of *per* and the accusative, not only of a person, but of a thing, to replace the ablative, a step towards the meaning which it is to have later in the Romance languages. Many instances of this are met with in the D. C. D., thus:

suo recusans esse subditus creatori et sua *per superbiam* velut privata potestate laetatus, XI, 13.

Illi quippe angeli sancti non *per verba* sonantia Deum discunt, XI, 29.

qui cum coniuge ac tribus filiis totidemque nuribus suis meruit *per arcam* vastatione diluvii liberari, XVI, 1.

Cf. also VII, 3, 5, 14, 22; VIII, 15, 22, 23, 27; IX, 9, 15; X, 10, 15, 26, 32; XI, 13; XII, 21, 24; XIV, 11, 13, 21; XV, 3, 8, 22, 23; XVI, 2, 4, 24, 30, 43; XVII, 2, 4, 7, 20; XVIII, 3, 18, 19, 21, 45, 46, 47, 48; XIX, 12, 14, 22, 27; XX, 1, 9, 17, 22, 23, 25; XXI, 2, 9, 21, 36; XXII, 1, 8, 9; passim.

II. WITH THE ABLATIVE.

1. *a* or *ab*.

In classical Latin *ab* means "away from," "from," "off from" with the ablative case and determines direction in space. Out of this local meaning, the Augustan poets, Ovid in particular, developed an instrumental meaning. The use of this instrumental meaning of *a* or *ab* with the ablative became prevalent in Chris-

tian times. The variations from classical usage in the writers of this period are due to analogy, to poetic or colloquial influence.

(a) *ab* with the ablative for the dative of agent.

The dative of agent, in classical Latin, is used with the gerundive to designate the person on whom the obligation rests. *A* or *ab* with the ablative is used instead of this regular dative as follows in the D. C. D.:

Quoniam constat . . . et ideo nullum deum colendum esse *ab hominibus*, V, preface.

si aliquid *ab his* ad illa similitudinis adferendum est, VIII, 8.

qua nos *ab illo* adiuvandos esse credamus, XIX, 4.

When treating of persons *not of things*, classical Latin requires the ablative of agency with a passive verb accompanied by *a* or *ab*.

In the D. C. D. Augustine in three instances uses *ab* with things. This is due probably to an apparent personification of the words, thus:

Neque enim homines *a simulacro*, sed simulacrum *ab hominibus* servabatur, I, 2.

quod et alius ante Christi nomen temporibus ei contigit *ab illa* est afflictione recreatum, IV, 7.

fulmina, quae aurea fuissent . . . et se *ab eis* fulminari velle discentibus hilariter benigneque donavit, V, 26.

(b) *Ab* with verbs.

sanare takes the accusative of the thing as well as of the person in classical Latin. It occurs with *ab* and the ablative of the thing in the three following passages of the D. C. D.:

ut totum, quo constat homo *a peccatorum peste sanaret*, X, 27.

Cf. also X, 24; XXII, 8.

2. *De*.

De in the Classical period has several meanings. Locally it means, "down from," "from"; figuratively it means, "concerning," "about," "of," besides having several idiomatic uses.

Ecclesiastical Latin in general has extended the use of this preposition and it takes the place of two or three others. It is the favorite particle in colloquial Latin and it takes first rank among

the prepositions of the Romance languages. Augustine in the D. C. D. makes use of the following variations from classical Latin in the use of *de*.

(a) With verbs.

De instead of *ab* (*a*) or *ex* with verbs compounded with *ab* or *ex* marking the point of departure.

Auferre. quam sepultam *de* monumento putabat *ablatam*, XIV, 2.
Cf. also XXI, 11; XXII, 8.

Egredi. quando *egressus* est *de* Charra, XVI, 15.
Cf. also XVI, 16; XX, 20.

Emicare. incendia *de* nubibus *emicasse*, IV, 2.

Erumpere. quando *de* fontibus Israel in eis literis . . . prophetiae flumen *erupit*, XVIII, 37.

Cf. also XX, 11.

eicere. et *de* possessis hominum, corporis *eiciuntur*, VIII, 26.

Cf. also XVI, 31; XX, 26; XXII, 22.

excludere. ad dissociandum atque *excludendam de corpore* animam . . . XIX, 12.

exire. Nachor frater Abrahæ *exisse de* regione Chaldaeorum . . . XVI, 13.

Cf. also XVI, 3, 15, 16; XVII, 18; XX, 15, 20; XXI, 15, 25.

exorire. Unde apparet *de* progenie Sem *exortos* fuisse, XVI, 3.

exsculpere. qui potuerint illic *de* quacumque re gesta sensum intellegentiae spiritalis *exsculpere*, XVII, 3.

avellere. quibus *avulsis de* sedibus propriis et propter hoc testimonium toto orbe dispersis Christi usquequaque crevit ecclesia, XVIII, 47.

avertere. *de* via recta conantur *avertere*, XII, 18.

expectare. quam *de* illo *expectabat*, X, 25.

Verbs compounded otherwise, followed by *de* instead of the classical *ab* or *ex* and the ablative.

redire. quod ei *redeunte de* proelio victori primitus occurrisset, I, 21.

recedere. et *de* rure proprio non *recedit*, V, 6.

Cf. also XXII, 22.

perire. nec *de* ipso corpore *perit* sanctitas, I, 18.

Verbs not usually found with *de* in classical Latin.

fidere is followed by the dative or ablative without a preposition in

- classical Latin. One passage with *de* and the ablative occurs in the D. C. D., thus:

si *de* adiutorio Dei *fideret* bonus homo, XIV, 27.

gaudere takes the ablative alone in classical Latin. It occurs here with *de*, thus:

quo modo *de* veritate gaudebat? X, 30.

nasci generally takes the ablative alone, *ab* or *ex* with the ablative and rarely *de* with the ablative in classical Latin.

The following instances occur in the D. C. D. with *de*:

natus quippe fuerat et ipse *de* Adam pro illo, quem frater occidit, IV, 8.

Cf. also XV, 13, 23, 27; XVI, 1, 12.

liberare takes the ablative without a preposition in classical Latin.

In the D. C. D. we find the following passages with *de*:

per quem populus idem *de* servitute Aegyptia *liberatus* . . . XVII, 2.

Cf. also XVIII, 4, 7, 21; XXII, 23.

orire in classical Latin takes the ablative alone. It may take *ab* but not *de*.

We find the following in the D. C. D.:

tanta *de* rebus prosperis *orta* mala continuo subsecuta sunt, I, 30.

Cf. also VI, 7.

(b) *de* with the ablative, expressing cause.

In expressing cause in classical Latin the ablative without a preposition is used as well as other constructions such as *ob*, *per*, *propter* and the accusative. In the D. C. D. Augustine uses *de* and the ablative in about twenty-five passages to express cause, thus:

nisi . . . vitam, *de* qua superbiunt, invenirent, I, 1.

ne civitatem, cui serviebant, *de* conditore eius offenderent, XXII, 6.

Cf. also I, 28; III, 31; IV, 10; V, 2, 20; VIII, 27; XVIII, 10, 39, 45; XIX, 27; XXI, 27; *passim*.

(c) Origin expressed by *de* and the ablative.

Origin in classical Latin is usually expressed by the ablative alone, sometimes with *ex* and *ab* and rarely with *de*.⁷ About seven instances of *de* and the ablative to express origin occur in the D. C. D., thus:

⁷ Cf. *nasci*, above.

Nam hunc Homerus *de* stirpe Aenae, III, 2.

de qua omnia fierent, VIII, 2.

Cf. also XVII, 9; XVIII, 21, 23; XXII, 8, 11.

(d) Means expressed by *de* and ablative.

Means is usually expressed by the ablative alone in classical Latin. Three instances of *de* with the ablative to express means occur in the D. C. D., thus:

tantum quod plebs illa, quae suos agros non haberet, *de* publico viveret, V, 17.

Verum illud, quod *de* abscisorum consecratione Mater deum colimeruit, VII, 26.

Iam hinc tempore consequuntur filiorum Abrahae, unius *de* Agar ancilla, alterius *de* Sarra libera, de quibus in libro superiore iam diximus, XVI, 25.

(e) Partitive *de*.

In classical Latin *de* with the ablative is sometimes used with a partitive signification instead of the partitive genitive. It is limited, however, to a few recognized expressions as *unus de multis*, *homo de plebe*, etc. In ecclesiastical Latin, it is used much more frequently, being extended to things as well as to persons.

Augustine in the D. C. D. uses the partitive *de* in the following passages:

populum suum in Aegypto *de paucissimis* multiplicavit . . . IV, 34.

Hieremias propheta *de maioribus* est, XVIII, 33.

ne quid eis contingat mali *de tantis* malorum *aggeribus* huius saeculi, XIX, 8.

Cf. also IX, 13; XIII, 21; XVIII, 29, 33, 42; XX, 30; XXII, 8, 13; *passim*.

3. *E* or *ex*.

E or *ex* in classical Latin means "from," "out of." In the previous sections we have noted that *ab* and *de* have in many instances taken the place of *ex*. Nevertheless, *ex* like *ab* and *de*, has a variety of uses in late Latin which are rare in the Classical period. A general tendency, very evident in ecclesiastical Latin, is a confusion in the use of prepositions in general, but especially with *ab*, *de* and *ex*.

The extension and variations in the use of *e* or *ex* found in the D. C. D. of Augustine are the following:

(a) With verbs.

accipere usually takes *ab* in classical Latin. It occurs in the D. C. D. with *ex*, thus:

quae Israelitae sali tunc *ex omnibus* gentibus acceperunt, XVII, 4. Cf. also VII, 13.

recipere in classical Latin may be construed with the accusative, dative, and with *de* and the ablative. The following occurs with *ex*:

Quam vult ergo intellegi animae liberandae universalem viam nondum *receptam* vel *ex* aliqua verissima philosophia ex earum gentium doctrinis, X, 32.

timere in classical Latin may take *de*, *ab* and *pro* with the ablative.

Here it occurs once with *ex*, thus:

Deus absit ut contaminationem *timeret ex* homine quo indutus est, IX, 17.

gaudere takes the accusative or ablative alone in classical Latin.

It occurs in the following passage with *ex*:

sed proclives ad libidinem nisi *ex* voluptatibus . . . *gaudere* nesciunt, XIV, 2.

(b) Partitive *ex*.

Ex like *de* is used in classical Latin with a partitive signification, and like *de*, also, is limited to certain expressions as *quidam ex his*, *unus ex multis*, etc.

This construction is used more frequently in ecclesiastical Latin. In the D. C. D. the following occur:

consulens *ex* his duobus elegit liberum voluntates arbitrium, V, 9.

Omnes hi *ex* illis sunt, VII, 2.

et eorum quos *ex* Iudaeis praedestinavit vocavit, XXI, 24.

Cf. also III, 26; IV, 8, 11; VI, 12; VII, 1, 10; VIII, 1, 12, 14;

IX, 7, 27; X, 12; XI, 13; XII, 12; XIV, 13; XV, 3; passim.

4. *Cum*.

In the use of *cum* as a preposition Augustine usually conforms to classical usage. In many instances, however, *cum* and the ablative of a substantive is used with the force of an adverb.⁸

⁸ Cf. Chapter I on substantives.

5. *Absque*.

Classical writers did not use the preposition *absque*.⁹ Plautus and Terence used it with pronouns only, as *absque me, te, . . . esset, absque eo esset*. Its use as a preposition was revived by Apulieus and Aulus Gellius who used it as a synonym for *sine*. It was used frequently in the *sermo familiaris* and is characteristic of African Latin. It occurs often in Jerome, not at all in Arnobius and Cyprian. It appears occasionally in Augustine, both in his Letters and Sermons. Three instances occur in the D. C. D., thus: *quanto magis absque culpa est in corpore non consentientis, si absque culpa est in corpore dormientis*, I, 25. *sine morte media beatam immortalitatem absque ullo termino connectus*, XII, 22.

In this last passage, *sine* and *absque* are used with apparently the same meaning.

III. PREPOSITIONS WITH ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE.

1. *With the accusative*.(a) *in*.

The preposition *in* is used in classical Latin both with the accusative and ablative. With the accusative it has a local meaning, "till," "until," besides its idiomatic uses. With the ablative it means "in," "on," "among." In ecclesiastical Latin the preposition *in* forms no exception to the other prepositions in frequency as well as extension of use.

The following are the variations from classical usage which we find in Christian writers¹⁰ in general and in Augustine in particular.

(a) *With verbs*.

The following are verbs from the D. C. D. with *in* and the accusative, which do not conform to classical usage:

Adtrahere takes *ad* and the accusative in classical Latin. Here it occurs with *in*:

⁹ Schmalz, 411.

¹⁰ Bonnet, 591; Goelzer (1), 348; Bayard, 144; Gabarrou, 113; Kaulen. 239.

quod salutis diabolus seductas gentes toto orbe terrarum *adtrahet*
in bellum adversus eam, XX, 8.

Cf. also XX, 11, 12.

credere takes the dative in classical Latin. It occurs in about twenty-eight passages in the D. C. D. with *in* and the accusative, thus:

id est ex Iudaea *credentes in Christum*, XVIII, 31.

Cf. also IV, 20; V, 14; VII, 33; VIII, 24; XVI, 39; XVII, 5, 12, 16; XVIII, 28, 33, 45, 48, 50, 54; XX, 6, 21, 29, 30; XXII, 4.

dominari in classical Latin takes *in* with the ablative. Here it occurs with *in* and the accusative, thus:

Mortis autem regnum *in* homines usque adeo *dominatum* est, XIV, 1.

sperare usually takes the accusative without a preposition in classical Latin. Here it occurs with *in*, thus:

quo modo eam perficit *sperantibus in* eum . . . qui *sperant in* eum? XXI, 24.

Cf. also XVII, 12.

(β) *In* to designate end of motion.

Sometimes in classical Latin we find *in* to express end of motion, although *ad* with the accusative is preferred. We read in Cicero, Venerat *in* funus, ad. Att. 15, 1; in Caesar, neu se . . . hastibus *in* cruciatum dedant. B. G. 7, 71, 13.

From Tacitus on through the Christian period we are impressed with the frequency of its use, thus:

Min. Felix, aliquem *in* exemplum praedicare, 36, 8; in Cyprian, homo acciditur, *in* hominis voluptatem, 6, 13; in Arnobius, labem machinantur *in* mutuam, II, 43.

In the D. C. D. we find:

Unde quidam hoc praeceptum etiam *in bestias* ac pecora conantur extendere, I, 20.

ne *in luxuriam* flueretis, I, 33.

Mirandum *in honorem* Christi processit exemplum, I, 33.

Cf. also I, 9, 10, 12, 24, 27, 28, 36; II, 5, 10, 29; III, 15, 17; IV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 10; VIII, 19; XI, 7; XII, 14, 23; passim.

(γ) *In* with adjectives.

The use of adjectives of the third declension taken substantively

and depending on a preposition as *in commune* is an idiom taken over from the Greek. Sallust¹¹ is the first to introduce the expression *in maius*. In Livy we read, *Marii virtutem in maius celebrare*, IV, 1, 5. By analogy to *in maius* the following expressions *in melius*, *in deterius* etc. were used especially by Christian writers. In the D. C. D. the following similar expressions occur :

In *deterius*, XIV, 1; XVII, 4.

In *commune*, XIII, 23.

In *peius*, XVII, 4; XV, 5.

In *melius*, XVII, 4; XX, 16; XXI, 24, 27.

In *sempiternum*, XXI, 11.

In *proximum*, XXI, 27.

In *pervisum*, XXI, 24.

2. *With the ablative.*

No clearly marked use of *in* with the ablative at variance with classical usage occurs in the D. C. D.

¹¹ Brenous, 431.

CHAPTER IX—CONJUNCTIONS.

Conjunctions like prepositions are closely allied to adverbs. Originally, conjunctions as well as prepositions and adverbs were cases of nouns or pronouns which became fixed with a special form and meaning. Almost throughout the literary period of the language, the consciousness of any characteristic of the noun was lost.

In the Imperial epoch, from Livy on, arbitrary uses of conjunctive particles are very evident, and variations not only in use but also in meaning begin to appear. The writers seem gradually to lose the exact values which were assigned conjunctions in the Classical period.

The variations from classical Latin, which evolved during the Imperial epoch, passed into Christian¹ literature whose authors show the following peculiarities:

I. QUOD, QUIA AND QUONIAM.

Of all the uses of *quod*, *quia* and *quoniam* which appear in ecclesiastical Latin, the most interesting is that wherein the conjunctive clauses, whether with indicative or subjunctive mood, begin to replace the classical use of the accusative and the infinitive for indirect statements.²

1. *Quod* for *quin* after *dubitare*.

Ammianus Marcellinus, an historian of the fourth century A. D., is the first³ to use *quod* for *quin* after *dubitare*. This construction was not favorably accepted, although it secured a place in the language.

With the verb *dubitare* which occurs about seventy times in the D. C. D., Augustine does not use *quin* once. The classical construction of the infinitive after *dubitare*, meaning “to hesitate,” has been already treated.⁴ However, *quod* for *quin* occurs in the four following passages:

¹ Goelzer (2), 329; Bayard, 158; Gabarrou, 167.

² Cf. Chapter VI on moods.

³ Schmalz, 342.

⁴ Cf. Chapter VI on Moods (Section on Infinitive).

Cum vero et illa vera atque certa sint, quis *dubitet quod* eorum, cum amantur, et ipse amor verus et certus est? XI, 27.

Absit itaque ut *dubitemus, quod* ei notus sit omnis numerus, XII, 19.

certe fides Christiana de ipso Salvatore non *dubitat, quod* etiam post resurrectionem . . . cibum ac potum cum discipulis sumpsit, XIII, 22.

Licet enim iustorum ac piorum animae defunctorum *quod* in requie vivant *dubitare* fas non sit, XIII, 21.

2. *Non quod, non quia, introducing a reason.*

In Plautus, an untenable reason is introduced by *non eo quia*; in Terence by *non eo quo*; in Cicero usually by *non quod* or *non quo*, seldom by *neque* or *non eo quo*. *Non quia*⁵ is rarely used in classical Latin, but it occurs frequently from Livy on, and becomes common in ecclesiastical writers; also from the Imperial epoch on, *quia* begins to replace *quod*.

Out of seventeen instances where Augustine introduces an untenable reason, he uses *non quia* twelve times, *non quo* three times and *non quod* twice. He conforms to the classical usage in the use of mood, viz., the subjunctive, but if the clauses contain a fact, even though the fact be denied as the reason, they are construed with the indicative.

(a) *Non quia with the subjunctive.*

Haec autem propter senarii numeri perfectionem eodem die sexiens repositio sex diebus perfecta narrantur, *non quia* Deo fuerit necessaria mora temporum . . . *sed quia* per senarium numerum est operum significata perfectio, XI, 30.

(b) *Non quia with the indicative.*

Flagellantur enim simul, *non quia* simul agunt malam vitam, *sed quia* amant temporalem vitam, I, 9.

Tunc iam deminuto paululum metu, *non quia* bella conquieverant, *sed quia* non tam gravi pondere urgebant, III, 17.

Unde et spiritalia erunt, *non quia* corpora esse *desistent* *sed quia* spiritu vivicante subsistent, XIII, 22.

Cf. also I, 23; XI, 27; XII, 14; XIII, 20, 22, 23; XIV, 4; XVI, 6; XIX, 6.

⁵ Schmalz, 545; Rieman and Goelzer, 462.

(c) *Non quo with the subjunctive.*

Sed a contrario martyres nostri heroes noncuparentur, si, ut dixi, usus ecclesiastici sermonis admitteret, *non quo* eis *esset* cum daemonibus in aere societas, sed quod eosdem daemones, . . . vincerent . . . X, 21.

ad cumulum a nobis commemorari potest; *non quo* necessarius *sit* etiamsi desit, sed quia non incongrue creditur fuisse, . . . XVIII, 47.

audiatur timeatur impleatur, ne inoboedientes eradicato consequatur . . . "Sacrificans," inquit, . . . *non quo* rei *egeat* alicuius, sed quia nobis expedit, XIX, 23.

(d) *Non quod with the subjunctive.*

Ex illis autem quattuor rebus Varro tres tollit, voluptatem scilicet et quietem et utrumque; *non quod* eas *inprobet*, sed quod primigenia illa naturae et voluptatem in se habeant et quietem, XIX, 2.

(e) *Non quod with the indicative.*

Qui vero pro aliquo grandi crimine morte multatur, numquid mora qua occiditur, quae perbrevis est, eius supplicium leges aestimant et *non quod* eum in sempiternum *auferunt* de societate viventium? XXI, 11.

3. *Quod with a finite mood after persuadere.*

The classical constructions with *persuadere* are (1) complementary final clauses introduced by *ut*, and (2) the accusative with the infinitive in some authors, notably Terence, Lucretius and Virgil. *Quod* is non-classical. One instance of *quod* and the subjunctive with *persuadere* occurs in the D. C. D., thus:

Quibusdam vero vitia eorum aliquanto adtentius et diligentius intuentibus non potuerunt *persuadere quod* dii sint, VIII, 22.

II. QUAMDIU.

Quamdiu in classical Latin meaning "as long as" ⁶ is not found in all writers, e. g. Tacitus and Florus do not use it at all, while others, such as Pliny the Elder, use it in preference to *dum*. Cicero uses the perfect tense with *quamdiu* when the verb of the main

⁶ Schmalz, 553.

clause is perfect, thus: *quorum quamdiu mansit imitatio, tamdiu genus illud dicenti vixit*, D. O. 2, 94.

Once in the D. C. D. Augustine uses, with no apparent reason, the subjunctive with *quamdiu* meaning "as long as," thus:

Nec saltem potuerunt unam Segetiam talem invenire, cui semel segetes commendarent, sed sata frumenta, quamdiu sub terra essent, praepositam voluerunt habere deam Seiam, IV, 8.

In Silver Latin *quamdiu*, the equivalent of *donec* meaning "until" and followed by the subjunctive is used for the first time by Javolenus Priscus.⁷ Among the exponents of this usage are: Salvius Julianus, Domitius Ulpianus, Cyprian, Spartian and Cassian. The first to use *quamdiu* for *donec*, meaning "until," is Ammianus Marcellinus.

Augustine uses *quamdiu* with the value of *donec*, "until" with the subjunctive but once in the D. C. D., thus:

Cui non sufficere videretur illa Segetia, quamdiu seges ab initiis herbidis usque ad aristas aridas pervenerit? IV, 8.

III. QUAMVIS AND QUAMQUAM.

Quamvis and *quamquam* have both retained their classical meaning in ecclesiastical Latin. Variations, however, in the use of these conjugations do appear in Silver and in Christian Latin. These are discussed in Chapter VI on moods.

IV. DUM.

Rare instances of *dum* with the value of *cum* (circumstantial) occur in the Augustan literature.⁸ In Livy we read, *Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit*, I, 40, 7; in Virgil, *Illa quidem, dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps*, G, IV.; in Phaedrus, *Canis per flumen, carnem dum ferret, notans vidit simulacrum suum*, I, 4, 2. This construction is unknown to the writers of the Silver age. It does not occur in Tacitus or Suetonius, or Florus or even Apuleius. It reappears in the fourth century of the Christian era in Aurelius Victor and Ammianus Marcellinus, and occurs also in Jerome, Gregory, Arnobius. The following instances occur in the D. C. D.:

⁷ Schmalz, 553.

⁸ Schmalz, 558.

Et saepe universi exercitus, *dum* pro terrena patria *morerentur*, ubi postea iacerent vel quibus bestiis, esca fierant, I, 12.

Iam multos moverat, quod miles quidam, *dum* occiso spolia *detraheret*, fratrem nudato cadavere agnovit ac detestatus bella civilia se ipsum ibi perimens fraterno corpori adiunxit, II, 25.

Quod enim conantur efficere de intervallo exiguo temporis, quod inter se gemini *dum nascerentur* habuerunt, V, 2.

An forte quia diverso horoscopo nati sunt, aut ille in masculum, *dum nascerentur*, aut illa in feminam commutata est? V, 6.

Quo damnato et occiso, utrum nocentem an innocentem nesciens occideret torsit; ac per hoc innocentem et ut sciret torsit, et *dum nesciret* occidit, XIX, 6.

Nam et de caelo novo ac terra nova iam supra dixerat, *dum* ea, quae sanctis promittuntur in fine, saepe ac multiformiter *diceret*, XX, 21.

Dum ergo *requireremus* quid factum fuerit, unde ille strepitus laetus extiterit, ingressi sunt cum illa in basilicam, XXII, 8.

Cf. also V, 2; XXII, 17.

Exceptionally rare, in any period of the Latin language, is the use of *dum* with the pluperfect subjunctive. It is however found in Cassiodorus and Ammianus Marcellinus of the fourth century, A. D.

One instance of *dum* for *cum* circumstantial, with the pluperfect subjunctive occurs in the following passage of the D. C. D.:

Dum enim rotam figuli vi quanta potuit *intorsisset*, currente illa bis numero de atramento tamquam uno eius loco summa celeritate percussit, V, 4.

v. UT.

In classical Latin the particle *ut* is used as a conjunction in a great number of complementary clauses. Such clauses are called substantive or logical complements and include two main divisions, (1) clauses which are complements of certain verbs manifesting volition or activity, (2) clauses which are subjects of certain impersonal expressions. *Ut* is also used in pure final and consecutive clauses. The principal deviations from classical Latin which Christian writers show in the use of *ut* are the following:

1 *ut non* for *ne* in negative clauses of purpose.

2 *ut* for *quo* in clauses containing a comparative expression.

3 *ut* with the subjunctive for the accusative and infinitive after *verba sentiendi et declarandi*.

4 *ut non* for *ne* after verbs of preventing.

5 *ut* with the subjunctive after verbs and expressions (not included under 3) which usually take the infinitive in classical Latin.

Examples of each of these categories appear in the D. C. D. as follows:

(1) Ad hoc enim speculatores, hoc est populorum praepositi; constituti sunt in ecclesiis, *ut non parcant* obiurgando peccata, I, 9.

Mulier autem virorum pretiosas animas captat, *ut* ille magnae indolis animus hoc velut divino testimonio sublimatus et vere se optimum existimans veram pietatem religionemque *non quaereret*, II, 5.

Et certe si Fortuna loquitur, non saltem muliebris, sed virilis potius loqueretur, *ut non ipsae*, quae simulacrum dedicaverunt, *putarentur*, IV, 19.

Nec deus Spiniensis, *ut* spinas ex agris eradicaretur, nec dea Robigo, *ut non accederet*, rogaretur, IV, 21.

Ut autem aliter annum tunc fuisse computatum *non sit* incredibile, adiciunt quod apud plerosque scriptores historiae reperitur, XV, 12.

Longitudinem fugio, *ut non* haec per multa demonstrem, XVIII, 44.

nihil ei nocere permittitur, cui procul dubio et rebus prosperis consolatio, *ut non frangatur* adversis, et rebus adversis exercitatio, *ut non corrumpatur* prosperis, XVIII, 51.

Ut enim in Christi nativitate huius rei *non ponamus* initium . . . procul dubio tunc innotuit per eius corporalem praesentiam doctrina et religio Christiana, XVIII, 54.

2. Hoc *ut facilius diiudicetur*, non vanescamus inani ventositate iactati, IV, 3.

The following passage also contains *quo* for *ut*,

Unde tres modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit, *quo intellegerent* tantam in illo proelio dignitatem cecidisse Romanam, *ut facilius* eam *caperet* mensura quam numerus, III, 19.

3. For this construction, cf. Chapter VI on Moods.

4. Ego autem *ut* hoc non ita *faciam*, sicut videtur ipsa expectatio postulare . . . copia quam incopia magis impediatur, XVII, 15.

Verum si hoc ad resurrectionis formam, in qua erit unusquisque, referendum esset, quid nos *impediret* nominato viro intellegere et feminam, *ut* virum pro homine positum acciperemus? XXII, 18.

5. sed illi *iubent ut* sacrificio *serviamus*, X, 16.

nec *iubent, ut* sacrificium faciamus, X, 32.

quae postea *iussit ut* redderet, XXI, 27.

iubente sancto episcopo Aurelio etiam *ut veniret* Carthaginem fecimus, XXII, 8.

sinamus, ut ea, quae vere vitia sunt virtutes *vocentur*, XIV, 9.

tamen utcumque *conatus est, ut* . . . ratio *deleniret*, VII, 33.

ita ut *iussisse* perhibeatur, *ne* saltem mortuo in ingrati patria funus *fieret*, III, 21.

VI. LICET.

Licet was not used as a conjunction until after Cicero. Properly speaking it was a verb in the present tense meaning "it is granted" and took the usual sequence of tenses. When *licet* was first used as a concessive conjunction it retained its original verbal force and the present or perfect subjunctive was construed with it by classical writers. Juvenal uses it more frequently than *quamvis* as a concessive conjunction. Tacitus uses it only in his Annals and History. In the jurists from Julianus on it becomes more and more frequent, until in the third century A. D. it is employed oftener than *quamvis*.

In the D. C. D. Augustine uses *licet* with the *imperfect* subjunctive in the three following passages:

Non solum enim non erit tale, quale nunc est in quavis optima valetudine . . . quale fuit in primis hominibus ante peccatum qui *licet* morituri *non essent*, XIII, 20.

Quae *licet* senio *non veterescerent*, XIII, 20.

licet in corpore animali *esset*, XIV, 12.

One instance of *licet* and the pluperfect subjunctive occurs, thus: ab hoste provocatus iuvenali ardore pugnaverant, *licet, vicisset, occidit*, V, 18.

VII. QUAMLIBET.

The indefinite adverb *quamlibet* was first used as a synonym for the concessive conjunction *quamvis* by the poets. The writers⁹

⁹ Schmalz, 555; Riemann and Goelzer, 484; Goelzer (2), 337; Bonnet, 325.

of the Christian period took it over and we find it replacing *quamvis* and the subjunctive. Ammianus Marcellinus even used the indicative with *quamlibet*.

Two passages occur in the D.C.D. where *quamlibet* is used with the subjunctive with the force of a concessive conjunction.

Sed quod pertinet ad praesentem quaestionem, *quamlibet* laudabilem *dicant* istam fuisse . . . II, 22.

Quamlibet enim de quacumque re propriae *sint* atque manifestae propheticae locutiones, necesse est ut eis etiam tropicae misceantur, XVII, 16.

VIII. SI.

Conditional sentences.

Classical writers have at all times permitted themselves much liberty in the use of mood and tense in conditional sentences. Accordingly, grammarians exhibit considerable latitude and variety in their explanations of the underlying principles. Lane has no less than eighty-eight combinations of conditional periods taken from classical literature, which indicates the difficulty involved in trying to classify the conditional sentences of any author as classical or non-classical. The forms assumed by such sentences depended rather upon the individual viewpoint of the writer than on any recognized and restricting set of rules.

In general Augustine in the D.C.D. conforms to the common classical constructions in his use of conditional periods. In Chapter V on Voice and Tense, a confusion of time, resulting from the complex forces influencing the language at that period, is noted. This confusion exists no less in the tenses of the conditional sentences. Augustine uses a large number of contrary to fact conditional sentences, and among these the imperfect subjunctive appears frequently for the pluperfect and vice versa.

In contrary to fact conditional sentences, classical writers rarely confused the tenses. The pluperfect subjunctive is used in both protasis and apodosis for past action, the imperfect subjunctive in protasis and apodosis when the statement refers to present time. The imperfect subjunctive might also denote past time of repeated action or action continuing into the present.

In this type of conditional sentence, viz., contrary to fact, variations from classical Latin appear as follows in the D.C.D. of Augustine.

1. Past contrary to fact with the imperfect subjunctive in both protasis and apodosis.

quae omnia procul dubio nobis tribuerent, si iam vel illis clareret nostra religio, vel ita eos a sacris sacrilegis prohiberet, I, 36. Illas theatricas artes diu virtus Romana non noverat, quae si ad oblectamentum voluptatis humanae quaererentur, vitio morum inreperent humanorum, II, 13.

Tunc enim tota Urbe in hostium potestatem redacta solus collis Capitolinus remanserat, qui etiam ipse caperetur, nisi saltem anseres diis dormientibus vigilarent, II, 22.

Aliud adicio, quia, si peccata hominum illis numinibus displicerent, ut offensi Paridis facto desertam Troiam ferro ignibusque donarent, magis eos contra Romanos moveret Romuli frater occisus, III, 6.

Si ergo tutores essent Romanae felecity et gloriae, tam grave ab ea crimen Saguntinae calamitatis averterent, III, 20.

quae illa civitas pertulit vel ad eius imperium provinciae pertinentes, antiquam eorum sacrificia prohibita fuissent; quae omnia procul dubio nobis tribuerent, si iam vel illis clareret nostra religio vel ita eos a sacris sacrilegis prohiberet, IV, 2.

Cur ipse Romulus felicem cupiens condere civitatem non huic templum potissimum struxit nec propter aliquid diis ceteris supplicavit, quando nihil dasset, si haec adesset? IV, 23.

Cf. also I, 36; II, 2; III, 15; IV, 7, 15, 28; VI, 2; VII, 27; XVI, 11; XVII, 4, 12.

The following passage¹⁰ is a good illustration of the imperfect subjunctive in protasis and apodosis designating repeated action in past time, and action continuing into the present:

Neque enim utrumque demonstraretur in omnibus, quia, si omnes remanerent in poenis iustae damnationis, in nullo apparet misericors gratia; rursus si omnes a tenebris transferrentur in lucem, in nullo appareret veritas ultionis, XXI, 12.

Cf. also XVII, 11.

2. Past contrary to fact conditional sentence with protasis in the imperfect instead of the pluperfect subjunctive.

si humanum genus ante bella Punica Christianam reciperet disciplinam et consequeretur rerum tanto vastatio, quanta illis

¹⁰ Dod's translation has this noted as a pluperfect subjunctive.

bellis Europam Africamque contrivit, nullus talium, quales nunc patimur, nisi Christianae religioni mala illa tribuisset, III, 31.

In the following passage the protasis still comes under (2) but the apodosis is that of a past simple condition:

nostrum fuit utique . . . attendere et videre nequaquam illos ad hanc artem perventuros fuisse, qua homo deos facit, si a veritate non aberrarent, si ea, quae Deo digna sunt, crederent, si animum adverterent ad cultum religionem divinam, VIII, 24.

3. Past contrary to fact conditional sentences with apodosis in the imperfect subjunctive.

Classical Latin permits the combination of pluperfect subjunctive in protasis and imperfect in apodosis, provided present time is designated by the imperfect. Past time, however, is clearly expressed in the following:

Si autem a diis suis Romani vivendi leges accipere potuissent, non aliquot annos post Romam conditam ab Atheniensibus mutarentur leges Solonis, II, 16.

Quam si tacuisset, aliter hoc factum eius ab aliis fortasse defenderetur, VI, 4.

Nam parasitos Iovis ad convivium eius adhibitos si mimus dixisset, utique risum quaesisse videretur, VI, 7.

Nullam Iacob legitur petisse praeter unam, nec usus plurimis nisi gignendae prolis officio, coniugali iure servato, ut neque hoc faceret, nisi uxores eius id fieri flagitassent, XVI, 38.

4. Present contrary to fact conditional sentences with pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis.

Classical Latin permits the combination of imperfect subjunctive in apodosis and pluperfect in the protasis, provided the time expressed by the protasis is past. In the following passage, present time is clearly indicated by the pluperfect subjunctive:

Hoc si nostris temporibus accidisset, rabidiores istos quam sua illi animalia pateremur, III, 23.

In the following passage Augustine uses the pluperfect for past action still continuing into the present:¹¹

¹¹ No such example is presented by Lane.

si Christianis temporibus accidissent, quibus ea nisi Christianis hominibus tamquam crimina obicerent? III, 31.

In a contrary to fact conditional sentence in classical Latin, verbs denoting necessity, propriety, possibility, duty, and the second periphrastic conjugation, when used in the apodosis, may be put in the imperfect or perfect indicative.

Augustine, in the apodosis of a contrary to fact conditional sentence, uses the second periphrastic conjugation with the pluperfect indicative for the imperfect, thus:

Virtutem quoque deam fecerunt; quae quidem si dea esset, multis fuerat praeferenda, IV, 20.

5. Future simple conditional sentences.

Rarely in classical Latin do we find the present tense of the apodosis combined with a future in the protasis. In general the future appears in both protasis and apodosis.

Augustine in two passages uses the future in the protasis and the present in the apodosis, thus:

Timor vero ille castus permanens in saeculum saeculi, si erit et in futuro saeculo . . . non est timor exterrens a malo quod accidere potest . . . XIV, 9.

Quibus si respondebimus esse animalia profecto corruptibilia, quia mortalia, . . . aut nolunt credere . . . XXI, 2.

X. NISI.

Nisi forte introduces an objection or exception, usually an ironical afterthought. It was rare before Cicero's time and regularly took the indicative.

In the D. C. D. four instances occur of *nisi forte* introducing an ironical thought with the subjunctive, thus:

Nisi forte quispiam sic defendat istos deos, ut dicat eos ideo mansisse Romae, III, 15.

Nisi forte quis dicat more spongiarum vel huiusce modi rerum mundare daemones amicos suos, IX, 16.

nisi forte inde se nobis auderent praeferre Platonici, X, 30.

Nisi forte quis dicat id, quod Dominus ait de diabolo in evangelis, XI, 13.

CHAPTER X.—SUMMARY.

Ecclesiastical Latin, as we have said before, has for its basic content the *sermo plebeius* of the Roman people, and we accordingly expect to find therein many of the similarities and variances in style and syntax which distinguish the language of the common people from the language of classical Latin literature.

The variations have been overestimated however. On examination, ecclesiastical Latin is found to vary from the Latin of the classics in no more marked degree than the works of the poets and prose writers of the Imperial epoch.

From this syntactical study of the D. C. D. we find that Augustine represents the characteristics of African Latinity of the fourth century A. D. In summary, the variations from classical Latin as found therein are the following:

In the gender of substantives Augustine shows a strict adherence to classical norms. In some instances he uses a plural for a singular term and vice versa. Like the writers of his age Augustine is fond of abstract terms using them sometimes instead of participles, at other times for adverbs. In case usage of nouns he deviates from classical norms, but no more so than the writers of the Empire. Augustine differs from classical authors to a similar degree in his use of adjectives. While his irregularities in the use of comparison are few, they exist sufficiently to mark him as a writer of ecclesiastical Latin. Very frequently Augustine uses *unus* for *alter*, an irregularity, common in Christian Latin, which shows lack of precision in the use of the language of the period. Pronouns appear much more frequently in the D. C. D. than in classical prose. The fineness of discrimination in regard to pronouns, so prevalent in classical Latin, is lacking. *Is, hic, ille*, and *ipse* are used indiscriminately and confusion exists in the use of *iste . . . ille, . . . ille . . . ille*, and *ille . . . iste* for *hic . . . ille* in contrasts. The indefinite pronouns are used interchangeably. *Aliquis* the indefinite pronoun of affirmative sentences occurs in negative statements, and *quisquam* the indefinite of negative propositions appears in affirmative statements. The pronominal adjective *tantus, tot* and *quot* are replaced by *tam magnus, tam multi* and *quam multi*. Besides *unus*, as noted above, *alius* is frequently substituted for *alter*, and *alter* for *alius*. In the use of adverbs, Augustine in the D. C. D. does not differ from other writers of the

Christian period. He uses *unde* for *quomodo*; *adhuc* for *etiam tum*; *ceterum* for *sed*; *scilicet* for *id est*; *magis* for *potius*; *utrum* for *ne* or *num* and *nec . . . quidem* for *ne . . . quidem*.

In our study we find in the verb more than in any other part of speech the greatest number of irregularities. Classical precision is notably absent in the use of the tenses. The future perfect is substituted for the simple future; the perfect infinitive is substituted for the present infinitive; the pluperfect is used for the perfect or imperfect and in many instances tense sequence is neglected. Augustine conforms to classical Latinity in his use of the imperative mood. He uses the indicative in indirect questions; in relative clauses of characteristic; after *quod* and *quia* for the accusative and infinitive in indirect statements; and with *forsitan*, *quamvis* and in causal relative clauses. One instance of the subjunctive with *non* occurs for a prohibition. He uses the third person singular subjunctive of *absum* with unusual force, first as an intensive optative subjunctive, and second as an equivalent of *tantum abest . . . ut*. The subjunctive is also used with *quamquam*, and with *quod* and *quia* for the accusative and infinitive in indirect statements. Augustine also uses a modifying adjective or its equivalent with a substantive infinitive. The infinitive is used to express purpose; with adjectives which regularly take a supine in classical Latin; instead of the genitive of the gerund; and with verbs which were not known to be so used in the period of classical literature.

In the use of participles, Augustine in the D. C. D. allows himself much liberty. The present participle appears in all cases and both numbers as a substantive; it occurs as a predicate with a copula; it takes the place of a *postquam* clause; and is used in place of the ablative of the gerund. The future participle is used as a substantive and as an attributive adjective; in some instances it designates purpose. The perfect passive participle form, as it were, a periphrastic conjugation with the verb *habere*. The gerund and gerundive are much favored by Augustine in the D. C. D. as well as by other ecclesiastical writers, and are used with a much greater frequency than in classical Latin. As for conjunctions, Augustine does not hesitate to substitute one for another, wherever there is a general similarity of meaning. In many instances prepositions appear where a single case form would suffice; an extension in the use of the preposition, as well as a change of meaning is very evident.

From this study it is very evident that St. Augustine, at least in the *De Civitate Dei*, comes closer to classical requirements than any other writer of the same period. While deviating to a certain extent, principally for psychological reasons, yet on the whole he very closely approaches classical Latin.

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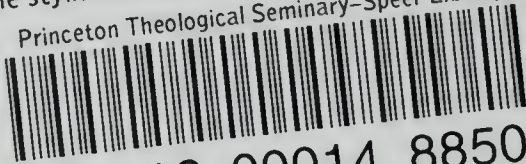
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VITA.

The author of this dissertation, Sister Mary Columkille Colbert, was born March 16, 1884, in Cappoquin, County Waterford, Ireland, and pursued her elementary and intermediate studies in her native town under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy. In 1900 she entered the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word, San Antonio, Texas. She received her A. B. degree from the Catholic University of America in 1912 and in the same year began graduate work, receiving the M. A. degree in 1913. While pursuing graduate work she attended the lectures of Dr. Deferrari, Dr. Wright and Dr. Bolling, in Latin and Greek literature; Dr. Shields in education; and Dr. Turner in philosophy.

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